

IN THESE TIMES

OLYMPICS! PAGE 19



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75 CENTS

COLD WAR REHEATED

*Winpisinger, Dellums,
Messinger, Harrington,
Kunnes, Commoner and
Faux on the New Foreign
Policy pages 11-14*



Tom Greenfelder

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Rep. John Anderson

John Anderson, last hope in '80

With Senator Edward Kennedy hopelessly behind in New Hampshire and therefore seemingly out of the race, and with maverick Jerry Brown never really in it, John Anderson has become the last hope for those Democrats not willing to stake their future on the Carter doctrine.

But while Anderson has been a persistent critic of American militarism, his economic philosophy is quite similar to that of Howard Baker or Gerald Ford. That many liberals should now be looking longingly toward his candidacy testifies to the utter squalor in which the '80 presidential race has sunk. In a recent *Village Voice* article about Anderson, Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway quipped, "In the kingdom of the blind, the one-eyed man is king."

Anderson is a congressman from largely rural north-west Illinois. As the national Republican party has drifted steadily toward Sunbelt conservatism, Anderson has steadily inched away from one type of Midwest Republicanism toward another: from a straitlaced opposition to government liberalism and Communism to a progressive middle class Republicanism that harkens back to Robert LaFollette rather than Robert Taft.

This kind of Republicanism is often espoused by midwestern governors, who have been able to withstand the scrutiny of the national conservative movement, but it has not flourished in the House and Senate where a Republican who supports the Equal Rights Amendment, federal funding of abortion, and health and safety regulations can quickly find himself the target of new right "hit squads."

Anderson is interesting because he has steadfastly resisted national pressures to mend his ways and has shown remarkable willingness to rethink his own political assumptions. After having compiled an American for Democratic Action rating of zero for his first two terms, Anderson rethought his stands on civil rights and the Vietnam war. In 1968, he broke a seven-seven tie in the House Rules Committee by casting the only Republican vote for Lyndon Johnson's open housing bill.

In the '70s, Anderson became an outspoken advocate of women's rights. He is the preferred candidate of many in NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League. He also held out against the post-Angola arms craze. He opposed the B-1 bomber, the MX missile, and he has questioned the need for annual 3 or 5 percent increases in the defense budget. He was one of the few House members invited to join the David Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission, which

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sought to forge a new post-Vietnam foreign policy. And along with Brown and Kennedy, he has opposed the hysteria of the Carter doctrine.

But Anderson also styles himself a "fiscal conservative." He wants to balance the budget by reducing government spending. He has consistently opposed measures like labor law reform, common situs picketing, and the creation of a consumer protection agency. His solution for the energy crisis has been to put a 50 cent tax on gasoline, part of which would be refunded to employees and employers by reducing social security taxes. While favoring health and safety and environmental regulations, Anderson is generally inclined to the Republican dictum, the less government the better.

Anderson's decision to run stemmed in part from fears that he would face a difficult re-election campaign in his own district. The 16th district has become increasingly polarized between Democrats in Rockford and Belvidere, where a large Chrysler plant is located, and a growing "new right conservatism," rooted in the countryside. In 1974 and 1976, Anderson ran unopposed in the primaries, but in 1978, he was challenged by Rev. Don Lyon, a fundamentalist minister, who accused Anderson of being a "one-worlder" and a friend of feminists and homosexuals.

Anderson was able to win the primary through the support of the United Auto Workers, who reregistered their members as Republicans for the primary. But with Lyon running again in 1980 and with a presidential primary making Democrats less willing to cross over, Anderson feared defeat.

Only genuine moderate.

Anderson is running as the "only genuine moderate." But until last month he attracted little support and few funds. His performance during the Jan. 5 Republican debate in Des Moines, however, gave his seemingly hopeless campaign a small boost.

It became clear in that debate that Anderson differed from the other Republican challengers not merely in his policies, but in his basic style. He was rational, where they were purely rhetorical. He was principled, where they were narrowly political.

Anderson alone supported Carter's grain embargo. "It is passing strange," he said, "that those who are critical of our foreign policy when it is weak, when the first real test of responding to the kind of Soviet aggression that has been taken by the Soviet Union against Afghanistan are unwilling to accept any measure of sacrifice."

Anderson's principled stand even won praise from the conservative weekly *Human Events* and from William Buckley's *National Review*.

When a reporter asked the candidates how they expected to reduce inflation, balance the budget, cut taxes, and increase military spending at the same time, one candidate after another offered his own brand of snake medicine. ("It sounds complicated, but it isn't," George Bush averred.) Anderson again simply said the obvious: "It's very simple, you do it with mirrors, and that's what it would take." Anderson went on to insist that tax cut was impossible in 1980.

But the moment that most clearly revealed Anderson's political and stylistic differences from the other candidates came when columnist Mary McGrory asked them what past action they regretted most. Every candidate but Anderson began by saying, as Howard Baker did, "My life is littered with things I would like to do over," and then proceeded to enumerate their many virtues. But Anderson answered straightforwardly: his vote in favor of Lyndon Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1965.

Anderson made the same kind of performance when

he appeared on *Face the Nation*, Feb. 3. He declared his opposition to draft registration and to the "new cold war mentality" that he saw in Washington. He accused Carter of exaggerating the threat posed by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "We've got to realize," he said, "that despite the threat posed by the Soviet Union, the door to further negotiations with that country has to remain open."

Anderson's base.

In Iowa, Anderson got only 4 percent, but except for the televised debate, he did not campaign at all in the state. His greatest support came from university communities. He won the Des Moines precinct where many Drake students and professors live, and the precinct for Grinnell college.

His active supporters seemed to be divided between "rational Republicans"—supporters of free enterprise who have some appreciation for fiscal complexities—and would-be Democrats impressed with Anderson's foreign policy. On election night in Des Moines, a local stockbroker told me he voted for Anderson because he was a "real Republican." On the other hand, two college professors who worked in his campaign said that they had previously voted Democratic, but had been impressed by Anderson's statement about the Tonkin Gulf resolution. "I would have voted for Kennedy if he hadn't backed down from his statement about the Shah," Drake sociology professor Karen Peterson said.

"The crucial thing is what extent a candidate doesn't insult my intelligence," history professor Robert Handloff said. "Everyone except Anderson did."

Since the Iowa primary, Anderson won the financial support of several noted Democratic liberals, including General Motors heir Stewart Mott and Californian Stanley Scheinbaum. In a telephone interview, Scheinbaum, who helped fund *Ramparts* magazine in the '60s and was an early backer of Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972, explained his reasons for supporting Anderson.

"He is the only voice I am aware of who has a clear sense of where he is coming from," Scheinbaum said of Anderson. "You don't get the idea that he is sticking his finger in the air to figure out what is best."

I asked Scheinbaum whether he was bothered by Anderson's fiscal conservatism. "Yes, but that's not the main issue," he replied. "This country right now has gone hysterical. In Washington, all they are talking about is nuclear weaponry. I'm just hoping that there is one guy who can stand up and say 'no' to all that. And the only guy who is doing it is Anderson."

What about Kennedy, I asked.

"Are you asking this week or two weeks ago?" Scheinbaum replied. "Anderson has been saying it all along. You don't get the sense he is sticking his finger in the air."

Campaign strategy.

Anderson's strategy has been to make a respectable showing in New England and then do sufficiently well in Illinois and Wisconsin to establish himself as a top contender. Just as in his Rockford district, Anderson is hoping that New England and Midwest Democrats will crossover for him in the primary.

Anderson argues convincingly that of all Republicans he would stand the best chance of winning the general election, but it is doubtful he will get a chance to prove this. Among active Republicans he faces a situation depressingly similar to that in his home district. There is no way Anderson could win primaries in the South and West.

Most of his supporters realize this. "I guess our best chance is if he gets to be vice-president and the other guy dies," one of them said after the Iowa primary. ■

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Anti-Klan coalition draws good crowd to Greensboro

By Calvin G. Zorn

GREENSBORO, N.C.

THEY GAMBLERED AGAINST THE odds in this university and textile town of 150,000—the birthplace of the civil rights sit-in movement of the 1960s. They gambled and they won.

The victory was an impressive turnout of some 7,000 marchers who came here on February 2 in buses and cars from as far away as Boston and Atlanta and Texas to say "No" to the Ku Klux Klan and those who condone Klan violence.

The marchers publicly congratulated themselves that they had pulled off the demonstration despite the violence-baiting, the Red-baiting and the sly maneuvers of city and state officials—the same officials who, the day before the demonstration, had piously commemorated the 20th anniversary of the famous Woolworth lunch counter sit-in by four local black college students. Those four men were invited back for a free lunch at Woolworth's, where a street corner plaque marks the historic February 1, 1960, sit-in.

After a cold but spirited four-mile march through the city to the Greensboro Coliseum, the protesters also congratulated themselves that their motley Feb. 2 Mobilization coalition basically had held together despite ideological and tactical differences.

Putting together a broad-based protest against the Nov. 3 killings was made no easier by the fact that the victims—four white men and a black woman—

were members of a small Maoist group—ing called the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

But the old principle still applied—an injury to one is an injury to all. The protest was planned at a mid-December conference in Atlanta on New Strategies to Counter the Ku Klux Klan. The sponsors were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization.

CWP members didn't help the solidarity action by refusing to state publicly that they would not carry weapons at the demonstration. This resulted in their expulsion from the Feb. 2 Mobilization steering committee six days before the demonstration. (It was the only split from the coalition.)

But the CWP participated in the march and at the rally the group was permitted a speaker when members shouted from the floor and threatened to rush the speakers' platform.

Although CWP leaders told Mobilization planners privately that they would not carry arms, their public position—aimed, they said, at keeping the Klan guessing—was exploited by city and state officials as well as the news media.

City officials withheld a parade permit until the day before the march. They also rented the Coliseum to a rhythm and blues band for the day of the demonstration, but the band gladly ceded the Coliseum when they learned they were being used to block the rally.

State Bureau of Investigation agents visited university campuses and warned student leaders about the possibility of



City officials feared violence, but the February 2 march came off without incident.

violence. Buses that had been chartered from two cities, including Durham, N.C., were abruptly cancelled. But Mobilization leaders, recalling that this tactic also had been used against the anti-war movement, quickly filed suit and set up a bus terminal picket line. The buses rolled.

Finally, after sealing with handshakes a last-minute permit agreement, city officials stunned march leaders by declaring a State of Emergency, thus discouraging participation by again raising the specter of violence.

But the march proceeded without incident under the watchful eyes of over 550 riot-equipped police.

Despite the medley of slogans bannering and chanted by participants, there was one recurring theme: the need to revive

the civil rights militancy of the 1960s to fight the new battles of the 1980s. Klan violence was viewed as only a symptom of a much wider assault on black and minority rights over the past decade by corporate interests and their political allies—one often-cited example being the "reverse discrimination" logic of the Bakke and Weber cases.

But while the speeches—most by longtime local civil rights activists—eloquently stated the problem, little was said regarding a common program for action.

The Reverend Ben Chavis, most prominent of the Wilmington 10 defendants, came closest of all to an action proposal when he denounced the draft and suggested future demonstrations as a tactic.

Chavis, who is now the field organizer for the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, got the loudest applause of the day and brought most in the Coliseum to their feet when he declared, "We're not going to be drafted. We're not going to fight any more wars for capitalism and imperialism. We're going to be enlisted in the freedom struggle. We're going to tear this system down."

Black support.

Chavis was probably the best-known black leader at the rally, a fact which pointed to another weakness of the Feb. 2 action. Aside from Chavis and the Reverend Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, national black leaders, such as those who comprise the Black Leadership Forum, were conspicuous by their absence, though several lent their names to endorse the action.

Some noted that while Andrew Young participated in Greensboro's official commemoration of the 1960 sit-in, the ex-UN ambassador and civil rights leader didn't stay in town long enough for the demonstration to which he gave verbal support.

Black leaders in Greensboro itself, under pressure from city officials and the climate of fear they helped arouse, were slow to lend support. Many remained silent.

But march organizers estimated that more than 1,000 of the demonstrators were local residents. Among them was Melvin Sealy, 36, who marched with his 9-year-old daughter and 7-year-old son.

Sealy, who is black and is a manager in a textile mill, remembers what it was like when the only blacks in the mill were those who swept the floor. Said Sealy, "This march was needed to remind people that unless you fight for your freedom and your rights, you'll never be able to enjoy them."

"It started here in Greensboro," said Sealy, "and it's starting here again."

SHUTDOWNS

Committee probes government role in steel mergers, Youngstown closings

By Paul Fortney, Jr.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IMPROPER ACTIVITIES BY TWO FEDERAL agencies are as much to blame for the loss of industrial jobs in Youngstown, Ohio, as the actions of the companies involved, a Congressional subcommittee was told recently.

Charges that then-Attorney General Griffin Bell erred in overruling the Justice Department's antitrust division and approving the merger of LTV, Inc., and Lykes Lines, and that a coalition of citizens attempting to keep the plants open was deliberately misled by the Economic Development Administration, were made during hearings on the impact of conglomerate mergers being held by the House Small Business Committee's Subcommittee on Antitrust and Restraint of Trade.

According to testimony by Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), Youngstown's problems began when Youngstown Sheet and Tube, at the time a fairly prosperous integrated steelmaker, was acquired by Lykes Line of New Orleans. Lykes subsequently misled Youngstown Steel to service the debt incurred by the takeover. The steel company was left without a cash flow to modernize and maintain its facilities. This led to the closing of the Campbell Works in 1977.

In this week's *In Depth* column, Peter Dreier covers a conference on the impact of plant closings in New England. Page 16.

Edward Kelly, research director of the Ohio Public Interest Campaign, told the panel, "The closing was blamed on imports, environmental regulations, and lack of profitability."

"There is some truth to these claims, although there is some evidence that the mill was still marginally profitable. But behind these claims is a much more important fact: Lykes' own actions, beginning with the reckless takeover of Sheet and Tube in 1969, were really the cause of the problems of profitability and lack of modernization."

The merger between Lykes and LTV, approved by Bell in 1978, also resulted in the closing of Sheet and Tube's Brier Hill works, since LTV already owned a competitor of Sheet and Tube, Jones and Laughlin Steel Company.

John F. Greeman, a reporter for the Warren, Ohio, *Tribune-Chronicle* told the subcommittee his paper had conducted a six-month investigation into the merger and discovered that Bell had "ignored and overlooked" the findings of his investigative staff because he considered them to be "messianic."

Bell consented to the merger because he believed statements by Lykes executives that Lykes was a failing company.

Greenman testified the Justice Department documents offer contradictory evidence.

The Rev. Charles W. Rawlings, an Episcopal priest active in an effort to save the Campbell Works through an Employee Stock Option Plan (ESOP), said the government's role in the effort to save those 5,000 jobs was "dishonest and cynical."

According to Rawlings, the Youngstown group was led to believe by Robert Hall, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Development, that a minimum of \$100 million in loan guarantees would be available from the Economic Development Administration to assist a viable steel project in the Mahoning Valley if a unified entity "to which the government could relate" was created.

The \$100 million figure, Rawlings said, was mentioned by Hall during a White House meeting in the fall of 1978 attended by Hall, presidential assistant Jack Watson and leaders of the Youngstown coalition. Watson reportedly told the group "\$300 million was not out of the question."

The coalition then developed a proposal to reopen the steel mill that was endorsed by knowledgeable steel executives and engineers and included an agreement by the United Steelworkers to a 21 percent reduction in labor costs if the mill reopened. The proposal was pre-

Continued on page 10.

IN SHORT

Many anti-draft actions planned

President Carter's planned announcement on the new military draft registration was expected to be heard by thousands of anti-draft protesters at rallies around the nation Feb. 9.

"We're urging everybody to take to the streets right away," Mobilization for Survival national secretary Bob Moore told IN THESE TIMES.

Moore's group is part of a national anti-draft coalition organizing marches and rallies on the weekend of Feb. 9, including New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Lawrence, Kan., and the draft induction center at Oakland.

Just days after plans to revive draft registration were made known, 2,000 Boston protesters rallied against the move. Later a rally in Berkeley, Calif., drew 4,000 draft opponents.

Moore said the possible inclusion of women in the new registration "will have a positive effect on draft resistance" since it will hit home to more people.

In another anti-draft move, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors said it has mailed 25,000 cards to be used by draft resisters as documentation for early establishment of their opposition to war due to "ethical, moral or religious beliefs."

Moore said many groups are taking the anti-draft fight to high schools in the

form of counter-military recruitment programs.

In Chicago, Institute for Women Today director Sister Margaret Traxler told IN THESE TIMES she's angry over the debate on registering women for the draft.

"How can any 'macho' guy dare mention drafting women without including us in the Constitution and passing the Equal Rights Amendment?" she said.

Traxler said she favors personal refusal to be registered and early establishment of conscientious objector status over "old hat" picketing, but added she anticipates "severe penalties" for those who refuse to sign up with their draft board.

"I'm not going to spend time working with people if they have no personal courage," she said.

"If they can't stand up and say no, then they should submit" to the draft, she said.

CIA attacks public disclosure

The three co-editors of a publication critical of the CIA presented their views to a House committee that is being pressured by the CIA to help renew the Cold War powers of the intelligence agency.

The CIA wants to make it a jailable crime for journalists and others to reveal the identities of CIA agents and agency operations, even if the information is obtained from public sources.

But the Justice Department, along with

lawyers from the *New York Times* and other publications, charge the move may be unconstitutional.

Justice Department associate deputy attorney general Robert L. Keuch warned the bill would have a "chilling effect" on freedom of speech.

Keuch testified that the measure the CIA wants—including jail terms of up to ten years for intelligence agency employees and former agents and up to one year for journalists and others—"would cover disclosures of publicly available information made by ordinary citizens" and that even "conversational speculation about whether foreign officials may have been a CIA source and whether we have covert operatives in country...could come chillingly close to criminality" under the terms of the bill introduced by all 14 members of the House Intelligence Committee last fall.

Louis Wolfe, who along with Ellen Ray and William Schaap edits the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, told IN THESE TIMES the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence "expected to find a bunch of lunatics" when the three were questioned recently about why they publish detailed information on American spies in the publication's Naming Names section.

Wolfe said, however, "They found us quite sane. We don't have CIA people slipping notes to us [on agent identities] in the dark of the night. All of our information is available to the public."

Wolf says his group is interested in keeping CIA agents accountable for their covert actions, but is not opposed to legitimate undercover information gathering such as the location of hostile military bases.

Wolf said his bi-monthly's information "gets under the CIA's skin" because of its agent identity revelations, which he said were intended to "stop these people" from using dirty tricks and other techniques to intervene in the legitimate business of other countries.

Wolf charged the CIA with "using us as a whipping post for some of the problems facing the government."

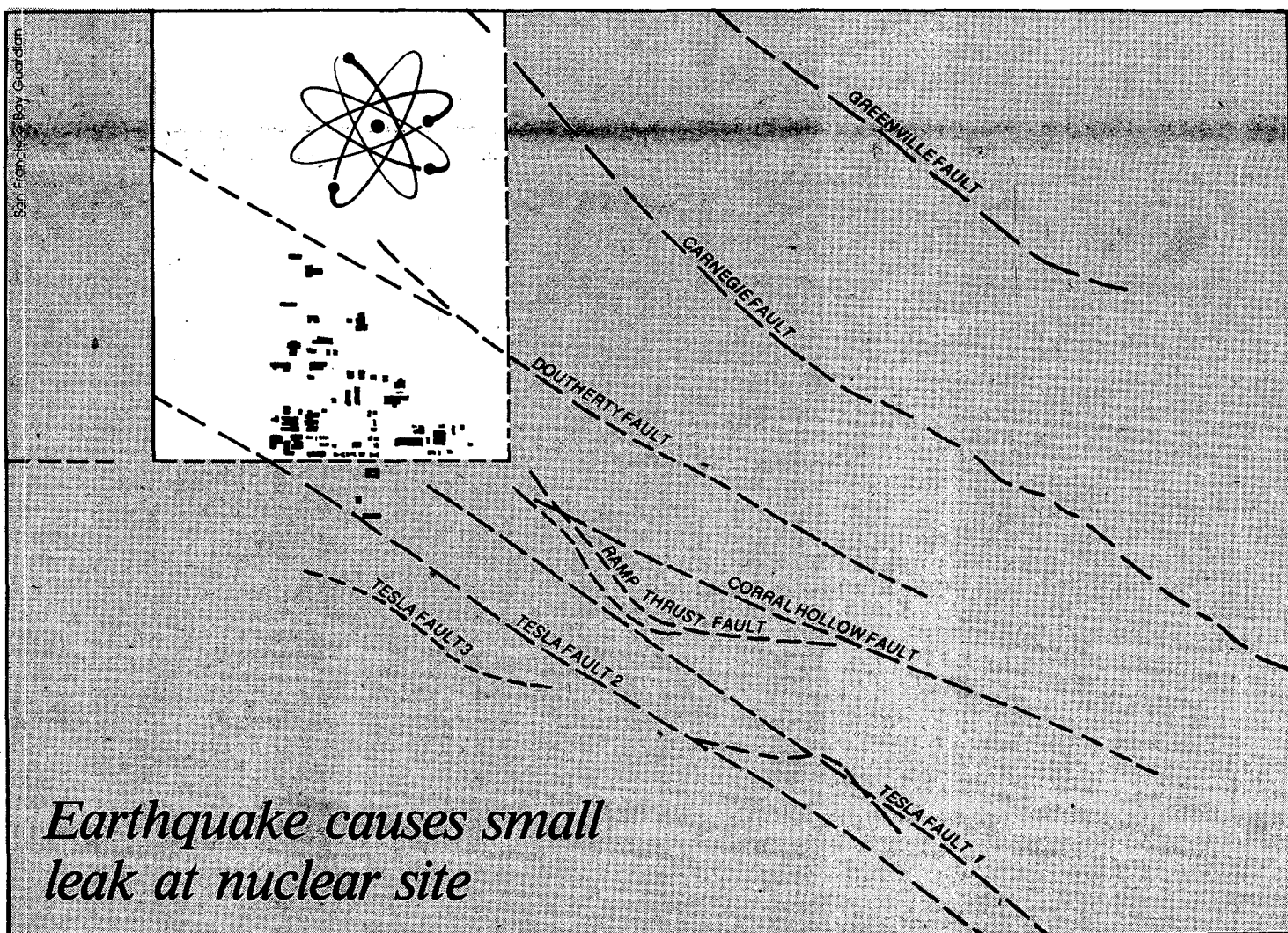
The CIA, however, claims the publication is a threat to the lives of agents. Richard Welch, the CIA's Athens station chief, was murdered December 1975 following publication of his identity in the magazine *Counterspy*. Wolf said, however, that Welch's identity was known to his probable killers long before publication and that his predecessor had already been marked for death.

Profiteering on home heating oil

The major oil companies are bilking the public by as much as \$1.6 billion in home heating oil overcharges, according to a coalition of groups including the AFL-CIO, the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, the National Council of Senior Citizens and the National Urban League.

AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland said his union organization "remains convinced that controls must be reimposed" on heating oil and diesel fuel as part of the fight against inflation.

Despite Department of Energy assurances that heating oil and other "middle distillate" fuels would rise in price no more than two to three cents per gallon by 1979 following the removal of price controls in 1976, heating oil prices jumped by more than 40 cents per gallon from 1978 to 1979. Those hikes, the coalition argues, are as bad or worse than any price gouging by OPEC. The coalition says in most states, a handful of companies control more than 50 percent of the heating oil market and that they can be expected to jack up prices and profits even at times when demand is on the decline.



Earthquake causes small leak at nuclear site

According to this drawing submitted by Livermore Labs with its Draft Environmental Impact Statement, four fault lines stop just short of the grounds. The lab, which is believed to store from 600 to 800 pounds of plutonium, is exempt from NRC regulation because of its high-security military research.

Both nuclear opponents and a government spokesman say they're glad California's latest round of earthquakes triggered only a small, two gallon spill of water containing radioactive tritium when a 25,000 gallon tank burst at the Lawrence Livermore nuclear weapons research lab Jan. 24.

The quakes forced the evacuation of about 7,000 Livermore lab employees and caused at least \$10 million in damages. Livermore public relations official Jeff Garberson told IN THESE TIMES that 44 plant employees were injured, although only one—an apparent heart attack victim—required hospitalization. Most injuries, he said, were caused by

falling objects.

According to Garberson, the tritium-laden water was half the concentration that the lab legally "could have simply dumped down the sewer."

"But because we're a bunch of good guys," Garberson said, the leak was not allowed to flow out of an asphalt-based containment area. Rainwater, he said, is believed to have raised the water level of a second waste holding tank that may have made the apparatus more vulnerable to the quakes, he said.

The anti-nuclear University of California Nuclear Weapons Laboratory Conversion Project's Steve Ladd agreed "this accident posed no danger," but he

didn't think lab officials were "good guys."

Ladd's group is pressuring for an end to nuclear weapons research at the facility, located about 40 miles east of San Francisco.

Ladd said the facility, which has a small experimental reactor and a stockpile of weapons-grade plutonium, lies directly in line with one of the area's earthquake faults.

He said official claims by the Department of Energy-owned lab that it can withstand the strongest possible jolt from a quake are overconfident and that the lab poses a radiation threat to the entire San Francisco Bay area.

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

AFTER MONTHS OF FINANCIAL juggling and last-minute compromising to keep Chicago's schools open, the classrooms were empty the last two weeks as a result of the virtually inevitable confrontation between the 28,500-member teachers union and a board of education pressured to make deep cuts in the budget.

Teachers were out starting Monday, Jan. 28, because paychecks were past due and a tentative plan to keep the schools open and minimize cuts in the educational program fell through. By the end of the week, the union was officially on strike even though the paychecks were ready. Above all they were determined to extend the school year five days to cover the week missed because paychecks were late. The school board maintained that it kept the schools open and owed the teachers no extension of the year or pay for the missed week.

In the short run, the school board will save money through the strike that will help meet demands of the new financial overseers for cuts in the budget. But by next year, the school board will be in worse shape because it will lose \$2.5 million in state aid for each lost day.

With the board's insistence on cutting 3,000 jobs out of the roughly 46,000 positions in the system, including 1,675 people with teaching certificates and 569 aides, the teachers union moved into the forefront of opposition to the financial plan assembled under the direction of Governor James Thompson last December. Teachers union president Robert Healey, as well as Mayor Jane Byrne, leading bankers and the school board, were parties to a three-stage agreement to raise first \$50 million, then \$225 million and then \$400 million to meet this year's budget. The plan also requires a \$60 million cut in current spending and submission of all major school board decisions to the final approval of a five-member Finance Authority composed of corporate and banking representatives.

Pointing at the towering First National bank building during a rally of 5,000 teachers, Healey blamed the crisis on the

IN THE NATION

CITIES



Chicago school board head Katherine Rohrer.

Teachers strike over cutbacks

"bloodsucker" banks that "take \$1 out of every \$10 the taxpayers pay." Later he corrected himself, saying the banks were really more like "sharks, they circle and take big bites."

The school board had rejected one proposed budget cut that would have totaled \$60 million. Then bankers threatened that the second-stage bond issue would not be sold if the full cuts weren't made. A deal was then struck in Mayor Byrne's office. More administrative positions and fewer teachers would have been elim-

inated, but the total was still less than the bankers and the Finance Authority demanded—only \$42 million. The teachers union, claiming that the school board failed to meet its side of the bargain in time, refused to go to work until the paychecks were available in full.

But by Feb. 2, when the checks were ready, the school board insisted that it would not extend the school year to meet state law and the teachers' contract. Also, further cuts of teachers and aides, about 883 in all, were made in order to

reach the \$60 million figure. So roughly 10,000 of the teachers voted by a three-to-one margin to strike on Feb. 4. The primary demand is getting the full school year, but the union also wants to reduce the number of positions cut and to guarantee that the contract will not be reopened until it expires in September 1981.

Ironically, the school board's insistence on keeping the schools open last week cost it \$7.5 million in state aid for the next fiscal year as well as millions in wages, extra heating costs and the operation of empty school buses. The teachers union estimates that the \$11 million wasted would have more than paid for the salaries of the teachers and aides that the board cut in its second round of budget reductions. Healey said that he had proposed making the missed week a lay-off week, then extending the school year, but the board refused.

In the first day of the strike, the board requested and received an injunction against the strike, since public employees have no legal right to strike in Illinois. The union also went to court, asking that the Finance Authority be enjoined from interfering with the teachers' contractual relations with the board.

Although the initial upsurge of protest against the financial plan from the black community has withered, reflecting the very low level of political organization among Chicago's blacks, other community groups continue to protest the undemocratic nature of the Finance Authority, the cuts in education and the failure of the schools to get the full tax money owed by many businesses. There was talk of starting consumer boycotts at department stores that have not paid their taxes.

One potential target for protest is one of the Finance Authority members, Jay Pritzker, member of one of Chicago's richest families and chairman of the Hyatt Corp. Hyatt has at least four properties that were listed as not having paid over \$87,000 of the corporate personal property tax assessed in 1977 alone.

But the primary burden of fighting the cuts and the Finance Authority now rests with the teachers union and other unions that have pledged support. Pushed by many of his members into a more militant posture, Healey, a co-architect of the financial plan for the schools barely a month ago, now has become Chicago's number one shark-fighter. ■

PEOPLE

Armstrong ends 10-year jail term for bombing

By Stuart Levitan

MADISON, WIS.

KARLETON ARMSTRONG, THE 33-year-old who ten years (and a generation) ago killed a man and shook the nation—by blowing apart the Army Math Research Center on the University of Wisconsin Madison campus—leaned back and talked about his experience.

"Prison has taken a lot out of me," he said with a sigh. "Right now, I'm just thinking about making a living, and feeling things out."

Armstrong is at an uncomfortable and awkward spot—hoping for a low-key return to a world he hasn't known for eight years, but still having to deal with the notoriety of an act ten years gone.

Armstrong, who called bombing, "obviously a rather hazardous occupation," has been training to become an electronics service technician. His first job will probably be driving a truck for a Madison-based grocery cooperative, but long-range goals focus on developing alternate energy sources for personal and public use. Already planning to build a home near Madison heated through passive solar energy, he also hopes to be the first to construct a working prototype of a revolutionary windmill-based heating unit developed by Illinois designer John Knecht. In time for a franchise to produce

the patented device, Armstrong envisions a factory run along collective lines.

"If I had to put a label on my politics, it would be a mixture of anarchism and socialism—anarchism in the sense of pre-Civil War Spain, when they had a decentralized government, and communes that were federated so they could operate in an efficient manner," he said.

"The same thing can be done in the U.S., but it's along way off," he continued, "probably 30 or 40 years. But I think it's possible—depending on how much the country begins to deteriorate, which I think it will as the central government is no longer able to provide what's needed. That's why I'm into wind power and other decentralized forms of energy, because they're ways to become more independent and self-reliant."

As Armstrong noted, the mass movement against nuclear power features "some of the same people, using some of the same methods that marked the struggle against the war in Vietnam. But the man who firebombed ROTC and draft offices before detonating a 1,000-pound bomb in Sterling Hall urged that a crucial distinction be kept.

"We shouldn't be blowing up nuclear plants. I don't think violence would at all be justified for something like that," he said. "This is different from the war, when people were being killed every day. Destroying nuclear plants through sabotage is ridiculous. The key is to oppose



Karleton Armstrong leaves Fox Lake Correctional Institute with lawyer Sarah O'Brian.

them, to make it as hard as possible for them to build them. And to get our alternative systems on the market as quickly as we can."

A decade ago, Armstrong fancied himself something of a political theorist. "But not any more," he laughed. "Now I'm trying consciously not to think about politics. The bombing was very, very painful to me, and I didn't trust my instincts afterwards."

"I still think the bombing should have been done. And if it had gone as planned, and no one had been hurt or killed, there would have been much more support for it," he said. "But someone was killed, and that's what I still have trouble with. That for me is the hardest to live with."

"The way it turned out, the bombing betrayed not only the anti-war cause, but the entire revolutionary movement," he said, adding that he deserved punishment by his peers "for the damage it did to the movement."

Adding to Armstrong's regret is the way other events have transpired—particularly the final result of the war he so bitterly protested.

"I've been hurt by what's going on in Southeast Asia," said the man who a decade ago chanted for victory by the Vietcong. "The Vietnamese revolution has deteriorated into a kind of nationalism, and I feel betrayed—better things should have happened."

Armstrong no longer uses the spelling, "Amerika," and sees other forces of evil afoot in the world today. "What's so disappointing is that you can't work out a strategy for stopping imperialism in this country without it still going on somewhere else," he mused. "And if you try to stop some of the bad things this country is doing, it seems like you're making this country weak vis-a-vis Russia—it's a vicious circle."

Stuart Levitan is political editor of the Madison Press Connection.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

By Charles Piller

WORKERS WHO ATTENDED the Jan. 27-30 conference on Work and Health sponsored by the California Labor Federation/Western Institute of Occupational and Environmental Sciences came with hopefulness and confidence, but may have left in fear. One of the major topics at the conference was Senate Bill 2153, introduced by Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.). Entitled the "OSHA Improvements Act of 1980," it might more appropriately be termed the "OSHA Destruction Act." The conference presentations, in which representatives of labor, government and the occupational health profession discussed the grim realities of the problem and the hopeful programs for the future, took place in the shadow of this current legislative assault on the labor movement.

The bill is the latest and strongest in a series of moves against OSHA by pro-industry legislators since the Act's inception in 1970. One reason for the attack is the increasing effectiveness of OSHA under the leadership of Eula Bingham, Undersecretary of Labor.

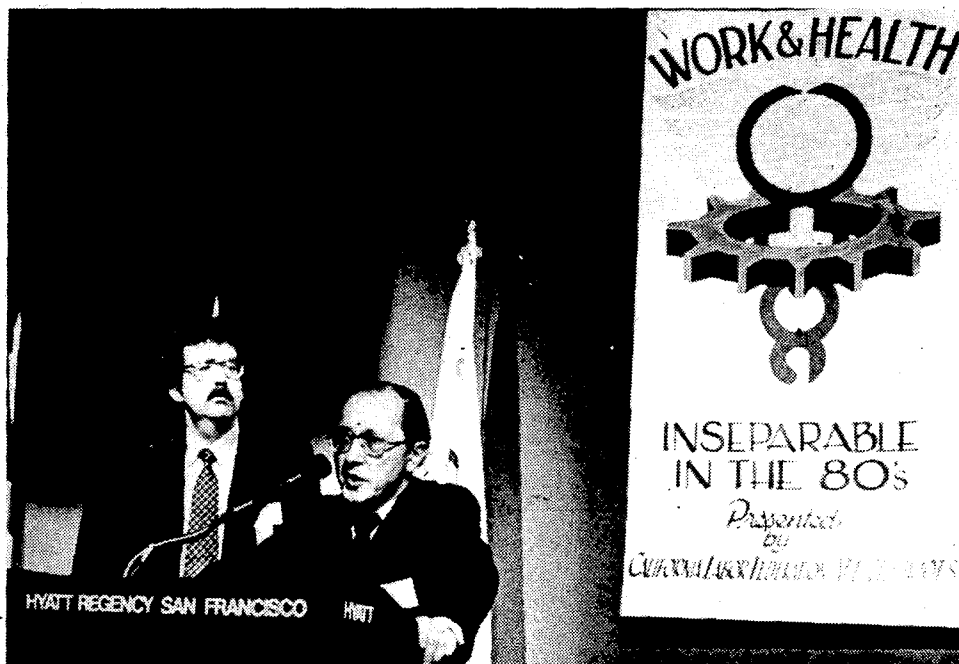
The bill's strength comes from the cosponsorship it has received from traditionally pro-labor senators. Ostensibly, these senators support the bill because they feel it will save OSHA from more severe attacks in the future.

But this argument pales in view of the provisions of the bill. As Bingham pointed out at a press conference, "It goes against public health policy of many years—the idea of prevention."

Bingham pointed out that "there is an enormous amount of underreporting in compensation cases and this bill would provide direct incentive to the employer to underreport." It offers no safeguards against employers' falsifying data. Historically, self-policing has proven completely ineffective for the worker.

Currently, 60 percent of OSHA inspections are the result of worker complaints. Under S.2153 there would be no automatic safety inspections. All complaints by the worker would be forward-

Unions organize to defend hard-won safety regulations



Samuel Epstein, author of *THE POLITICS OF CANCER*, addressed the San Francisco conference.

ed to the employer and later pursued by OSHA only if "satisfactory assurances that appropriate action has been taken to correct the violation" were not forthcoming. That, Bingham charged, "destroys the worker's right to have complaints dealt with efficiently."

Labor's reaction.

The AFL-CIO, individual unions and effected government agencies are taking the Schweiker Bill very seriously, and expect a difficult fight on Capitol Hill in the current "stop big government" climate.

In his address to the conference, George Taylor, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Occupational Safety and Health, said that "the business community has engendered an exaggerated feeling in Washington that the greatest government regulatory plot is OSHA."

There are other reasons that S.2153 could be difficult to defeat. Taylor pointed out that the bill appears to be oriented toward better self-reporting by employers. In resisting its passage, "it puts unions in the position of looking like we don't want better hazard identification and voluntary compliance."

Bingham indicated that "it has a very appealing aspect to it that it encourages the development of a uniform workers' compensation system throughout the U.S. [Workers' compensation programs are administered by the states.] But there is no guarantee within the bill that even this would happen."

It may be no accident that this bill comes on the coattails of increased military spending and the "war mentality" brought on by recent international events. Anthony Robbins, director of the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health, reflected in his conference speech on the growing problem of protecting government workers—who are already exempt from OSHA. He also predicted that the "results of a military oriented economy will be a series of situations where we will be asked to ignore health problems in favor of accelerated production. That speed-up itself will increase the number of accidents, increase exposures and reduce attention to worker safety and health."

Bert Seidman, director of AFL-CIO's Department of Social Security, agreed that "the people who have tried to gut the social programs of this country will use the international situations as a further weapon in that fight."

Getting organized.

Despite militant and angry speeches by AFL-CIO leaders, they appeared to exert little effort to mobilize the 600 interested attendees beyond some information sharing and encouragements to "write your senator." This is perhaps indicative of the somewhat slow start labor has gotten off to in the fight against S.2153.

There is some speculation that labor leaders were caught off guard by the bill's generally pro-labor sponsors. They are not eager to attack senators they will need for other labor issues this year.

Morris Davis, director of the Labor Occupational Health Program at the University of California, Berkeley, feels there are other reasons for the slow start. Davis told IN THESE TIMES, "The bill is very complex, and the data involved, primarily workers compensation figures,

Continued on page 10.

LEGISLATION

Schweiker bill would hamstring OSHA

By Matt Witt

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A FULL-SCALE MOBILIZATION of organized labor's political strength may become necessary to save the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) from the most serious attack on it yet.

A group of Senate liberals, headed by Labor Committee chairman Harrison Williams (D-N.J.), has joined conservative Senators Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.) and Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) in sponsoring a bill they say would exempt more than 90 percent of American workplaces from OSHA safety inspections.

The Schweiker-Williams "OSHA Improvement Act" (S.2153) would also take away workers' right to request surprise inspections, reduce the already inadequate fines companies pay for safety violations and increase employers' incentive to underreport deaths and injuries.

Under the Act, employers could qualify for an exemption from inspections in two ways. First, they could fail to report to the state workers' compensation agency any injuries with two or more lost workdays during a given year. This provision would encourage the common practice of paying injured workers to sit all day in a lunchroom or company office—now done mainly to keep down insurance rates by hiding bad safety records.

Second, employers could file affidav-

its claiming a lost workday injury rate of no more than two per 100 workers and a record of no accident-related deaths during that year. OSHA would apparently have to take the companies' word.

Qualified workplaces could only be inspected by OSHA after an accident if it caused death or the hospitalization of at least two workers. If workers in exempt businesses asked for an inspection, OSHA would have to stay away if the employer gave verbal "assurances" that no hazard existed.

Even in those few cases in which inspections could be conducted, S.2153 ensures that qualified companies with no more than 10 workers would be immune from fines for virtually all serious violations of OSHA standards.

Larger qualified employers would also be protected from fines for almost all violations as long as they maintained an advisory labor-management safety committee and a regular program to consult outside safety experts. There is absolutely no requirement that the employer pay any attention to recommendations from the committee or the consultant.

Similarly, even employers that cannot qualify for these exemptions would face fines from 30 to 70 percent lower, depending on the violation, if they maintained a safety committee and consultation program.

Although OSHA has staff to inspect only 2 percent of U.S. workplaces each year, until now no employer has been assured of going unwatched. Workers have often used the threat of calling in an in-

spector to back up their own demands. In the same way, while most OSHA fines are too low—averaging well below \$75 per violation—every employer at least has had to consider the possibility of an occasional fine of up to \$1,000.

According to Senator Schweiker, the bill would take OSHA out of its "police-man" role and encourage "employer and employee self-initiative." Schweiker's position is not surprising, since he has supported previous attempts to roll back worker gains under OSHA.

Union leaders were shocked, however, when former OSHA supporters Williams and Senators Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Frank Church (D-Idaho), and Gaylord Nelson (D-Wisc.) became sponsors.

The initial strategy of labor is to block the bill in committee by convincing the Democratic sponsors to withdraw. Lobbying by Wisconsin unions has already convinced Nelson to drop his name from the bill, and AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland met with Williams on Feb. 1 to ask him to do the same. Williams reportedly claims he is just trying to protect OSHA from even more severe cuts, although if the bill comes to the Senate floor business lobbyists will push for even tougher restrictions.

Williams, who recently made a fact-finding tour to Sweden, where labor-management safety committees are required by national legislation, has spoken admiringly of labor-management cooperation in that country. But the Schweiker-Williams bill bears no resemblance to the Swedish laws. Swedish workers have ma-

jority membership on the committees, have veto power over all company plans and actions affecting safety and health, can shut down unsafe operations, and are provided union-sponsored, company-paid training in carrying out safety committee functions.

In order to demonstrate the seriousness of the issue, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department has called a series of meetings around the country to plan further actions, and the steelworkers union is sending emergency letters to its more than one million members.

The Committees on Occupational Safety and Health (COSH), which are coalitions of local unions and health activists in more than a dozen cities or regions, have also called special meetings.

No date has been set for hearings on the bill. If it can be bottled up in the Senate committee, all or part of it could still be attached to OSHA's appropriations package. In the last session of Congress, that strategy was used to exempt employers of certain small businesses from regularly scheduled safety inspections through next Sept. 30.

No sponsor for Schweiker-Williams has been found in the House. House sources said leaders of the relevant labor subcommittee there could be counted on to oppose the bill, although "if the Senate passes it, there will be tremendous pressure over here from business."

■ Matt Witt is director of the American Labor Education Center and an editor of *American Labor*.

IN THE WORLD

IRAN

President-elect Bani Sadr has a clear mandate

By Diana Johnstone

ABOL HASSAN BANI SADR'S election as the first president of the Iranian Islamic Republic was an overwhelming popular mandate for nonalignment in foreign affairs and tolerance at home.

The French-educated economist and theoretician of the Islamic revolution, who will be 47 years old next March 22, won a landslide 76 percent of the vote after an election campaign whose freedom contrasted favorably with the constitutional referendum last fall. Thanks to the enthusiastic young volunteers inspired by his ideas, Bani Sadr ran a vigorous and sophisticated campaign, complete with private public opinion surveys that gave him a good advance measure of his popularity. He benefited from the benevolent neutrality of the Imam Khomeini, who kept his pledge not to make his personal preference known. Khomeini's son favored Bani Sadr, while his daughter supported the ultra-religious Islamic Republican Party (IRP), the party of the mollahs.

IRP candidate Hassan Habibi went down to resounding defeat with less than 5 percent of the vote, making it clear that Iranians, however great their piety and personal respect for the Imam who brought down the hated Shah, do not want to be ruled by a bunch of bigoted mollahs.

Coming in second with 16 percent of the vote, Admiral Ahmad Madani emerged as the main opposition leader, representing the westernized upper and middle classes anxious to preserve social order.

A sign of Iranian voters' good sense was their overwhelming rejection of foreign minister Sadegh Gotbzadeh, who got only 48,000 votes, coming in last in a field of seven candidates despite his notoriety and his command of Iranian radio-television in the months after the revolution. Gotbzadeh's flip-flops and publicity stunts obviously failed to impress his compatriots. His last stab at a propaganda coup was his announcement, practically on the eve of the elections, that Panama had arrested the Shah and would extradite him. The slowness of the official denial was seen by some as implicit U.S. support of Gotbzadeh's candidacy. Not that Gotbzadeh (as has frequently been charged) is a CIA agent, but just that he is the sort of unprincipled opportunist, with no clear policy line, that imperialists powers figure they can handle.

For all his neutrality, the Imam helped narrow the field of candidates by ruling, on the one hand, that the president should be a layman—which eliminated the IRP's original candidate, the Ayatollah Behehti—and on the other, that nobody could be a candidate who had opposed the constitution. This disqualified the far left candidate, Massoud Rajavi of the People's Mujahidin, the Islamic revolutionaries who have not disbanded the guerrilla organization they built to fight the Shah's regime. The Mujahidin may get a chance to measure their popular following in the forthcoming national legislative elections, when the losers in the presidentials will go all-out to deprive Bani Sadr of a majority in parliament.

Rejecting religious extremism, voters endorse tolerance at home and total independence in foreign affairs.

Bani Sadr has always opposed giving political power to the clergy. The mollahs of the IRP may hope to use the famous "Islamic students following the line of Imam" to give themselves a more militant revolutionary image than Bani Sadr and thus do better in the parliamentary elections. The "Islamic students" played a role in the presidential elections by releasing documents found in the captured American embassy that eliminated several potential candidates by showing their friendly secret relations with U.S. officials. But the "students" claim to represent the people is seriously weakened by the victory of Bani Sadr, who has made it quite clear that he wants to assert the authority of democratic government over the self-assigned powers that naturally proliferated in the wake of a revolution that had a spiritual guide but no structured leadership. And Bani Sadr is the only leading Iranian who marched straight into the American Embassy to tell the "Islamic students" they were doing a serious disservice to the revolution by holding the American hostages—a fact known to the Iranians who elected him.

Bani Sadr also opposed the suspiciously quick trials that eliminated key figures in the Shah's regime and SAVAK secret police before the full story of their crimes—and complicities—could be brought out. Instead, he wants to get hold of and publish the SAVAK archives that have been stashed away by some of the clergy.

Bani Sadr is for a foreign policy of uncompromising nonalignment. In a recent interview, he told *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau that his condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was certainly not motivated by a desire to please the Americans. Bani Sadr said he considered that "the two combats, against American imperialism and Soviet imperialism, are inseparable. We are not going to liberate ourselves from the hegemony of one of the two superpowers just to fall under the sway of the other."

"The Russians are at our gates," Bani Sadr said. "If they managed to reach the Persian Gulf, they would control the whole region. That's why I think it is our duty to provide as soon as we can aid of various kinds—financial, military, food, diplomatic—to the Afghan people."

But he said Iran did not want American aid in safeguarding its independence and security. "A dependent country is particularly vulnerable in regard to the dominant power. Our economy and army are still largely dependent on the United States in particular and on the West in general. Certainly we intend to resist Rus-



Bani Sadr won a landslide victory with 76 percent of the vote.

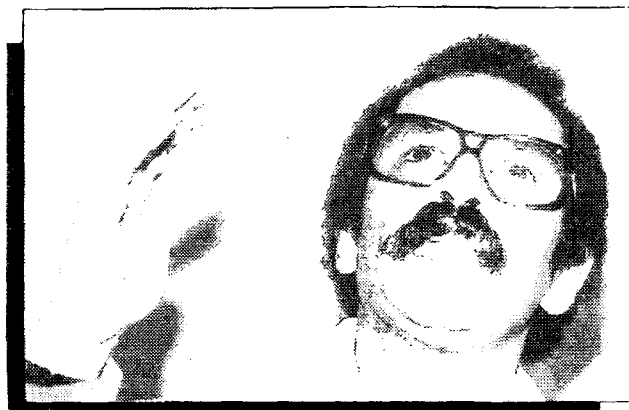
sian expansionism, but that doesn't mean we are going to give the Americans the pretext to regain their foothold in our country. Washington can truly help us deal with our northern neighbor by refraining from interfering in our affairs, from intriguing and plotting against our revolution."

The president-elect also said he opposed any joint defense pact with regional powers like Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Egypt "because those governments are not representative and fear their own people too much to arm them.

As for me, I only believe in the effectiveness of popular resistance. The Iranians are armed and will remain armed—they will know how to defend themselves if they have to."

Bani Sadr said he was opposed to the expulsion of American journalists from Iran, as he was "on principle hostile to any limitation on freedom of expression." He said he planned to reopen Iran to the American press. "Of course, lots of them have written hateful and idiotic things about us, but others have done an honest job."

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EUROPE

The Euromissile debate continues

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT wants no public debate of the Euromissile issue—least of all in an election year.

Thus Defense Minister Hans Apel turned down General Gert Bastian's request to retire early as a gesture of opposition to NATO's decision in Brussels Dec. 12 to station medium-range nuclear missiles in West Germany and other NATO countries. Instead, Gen. Bastian was yanked from his command of the 12th tank division on Jan. 17 and reassigned to an obscure desk job in Cologne. This kept him under government gag rules and prevented him from freely presenting his case against the missiles to the public.

The 57-year-old major general, who likes to share his views with such groups as the Young Socialists, is a particular embarrassment to the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) as it heads into electoral battle against the ultra-conservative Christian Democratic ticket headed by Franz Josef Strauss, ever on the lookout for any sign of "softness on communism."

News reports have concentrated on the human interest side of the affair, alternately criticizing Apel's rudeness to the forthright general, or rebuking Bastian for overstepping the bounds of duty. This is as good a way as any to bury the critical thoughts that were more important to Gen. Bastian than his military career.

Bastian expressed these thoughts in an eight-page memo to Apel that instantly

German general Gert Bastian is the most recent European commander to criticize the NATO buildup—and argue that a new medium-range nuclear force on the continent is both unnecessary and dangerous.

General Bastian



produced his reassignment in semi-disgrace. The text found its way into the *Frankfurter Rundschau* a week later—which did not stop circulation of distorted versions of its contents.

In the memo, Bastian complained that the pre-Brussels missile debate in West Germany had been misleadingly stacked by a typically German—and virtually untranslatable choice of terminology ("Vor-rüstung—Nachrüstung") that made it

seem self-evident that the West must "follow up" an armaments "advance" taken by the Soviet Union in its deployment of SS20 medium-range missiles. "In fact, there are reasons not to view the Soviet modernization program as a fundamentally new threat compelling us to act in response," he noted. But "except for a few anxious individual voices, the debate was mostly carried on with arguments that made it impossible to recognize what a decisive switch was being made. A switch that in fact, along with the closing of a dreaded deterrence gap whose very existence is disputed among experts, would also result in a highly significant new distribution of nuclear capacity and risk among the allies themselves as much as between the superpowers."

Gen. Bastian argued that the "credibility of deterrence has always been based on parity of attainable effects, not the sameness of available weapons." The Soviet Union has had medium-range nuclear missiles pointed at Europe for some 20 years, without there being any need felt for similar American weapons to be stationed in Europe, "because nobody doubted U.S. determination to counter the SS5 threat with its own nuclear forces and to retaliate to any destruction of Europe with similar damage to the USSR."

Gen. Bastian said it was "incomprehensible" why the modernization of the Soviet medium-range force should change anything. American strategic land, sea and air nuclear weapons can still neutralize all the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons, whatever their quality, location and targets.

Comparing the European allies to the Soviet Union in nuclear weapons is deceptive, Bastian argued, because what counts for nuclear deterrence is the global balance between the two superpowers,

"and nothing else!"

The two superpowers have respected the balance of terror and acted cautiously towards each other. The single exception, Bastian recalled, was in 1962 when the Soviet Union was ready to station medium-range rockets in Cuba, within striking distance of the U.S. "By giving up this plan, which the U.S. understandably took as an unacceptable provocation, the Soviet Union then spared the world the likely next step from cold to hot war. Now today, isn't it to be expected that the Soviet Union would likewise take the stationing of U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons aimed at its vital centers as a provocation? Should it be expected to react with resignation to the conscious capacity of the U.S. to cause strategically significant destruction in the western USSR with this nuclear force, since its location reduces warning time to about one fifth?"

Gen. Bastian blasted the "misleading assertion" of some retired high-ranking German officers that giving up the American rockets in Europe would be practically a step towards surrender. "A worse falsification of the truth could scarcely be possible. For on the contrary, it is quite obvious that such a conspicuous nuclear force on Dutch, Belgian and especially German soil must raise the question, with incomparably greater force than any other threat, whether in case a situation develops that threatens peace," the U.S.S.R. may not feel "flatly obliged to get rid of this new risk through a nuclear preventive strike." The narrowness of the European territory where the weapons are to be stationed would facilitate such a preventive strike. This dangerous thought "can only be further encouraged by conjecturing that U.S. strategic power can no longer be counted on with the same certainty as in the past to be available for the protection of non-American interests."

Therefore, giving Europeans a greater nuclear role weakens rather than strengthens deterrence. The only effective deterrent is "the credible determination of the U.S. to use its strategic arsenal whenever and however required for the defense of its allies. This is by no means an unfair demand to make on the U.S.... To hold together the alliance, it is the indispensable compensation for the naturally greater risk run by the peoples of Europe..."

Even as things stand, central Europe would be devastated should deterrence break down. "By the new distribution of nuclear strike capacity, decided in Brussels last Dec. 12, central Europeans' prospects of survival in case deterrence breaks down are made even slimmer, that is, reduced to zero! Therefore it is neither selfish nor shortsighted, when European allies consider both unnecessary and even dangerous any shift in the distribution of tasks within NATO, that from the start assigned the role of western nuclear power to the U.S., and want to see nuclear deterrence further guaranteed above all by U.S. strategic power."

Oddly enough, press reports have overlooked Bastian's concern for German survival, his worry that the missiles, far from strengthening Europe's security, may invite a Soviet preventive strike. Instead, he is portrayed as someone who, at best, sees no point in escalating the arms race, and at worst, is echoing Soviet views.

Christian Democratic members of parliament lost no time in branding Gen. Bastian a "security risk."

Bastian's son Till, a 30-year-old Mainz doctor, lamented that the SPD was mainly concerned with demonstrating its patriotism in the face of attacks from the militant right. "Such an attitude on the part of the Social Democrats is nothing new, it began with the vote for war credits in 1914," Till Bastian recalled. "In any case, nothing good has ever come of it."

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CANADA

NDP gains may cut into Liberal party election victory

By Eric Lee

TORONTO, ONTARIO

IF PRESENT TRENDS IN THE campaign continue, it is likely that the Liberal Party, led by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, will form Canada's next government as a result of the February 18 elections. Two recent national polls showed the Liberals ahead of the Conservatives by 20-to-21 percent. Trailing a distant third is the New Democratic Party, led by Ed Broadbent, with between 16 and 20 percent of the vote.

The New Democrats brought on the election by a December 13 "no-confidence" motion introduced by NDP finance critic Bob Rae. The NDP and Liberals teamed up against Prime Minister Joe Clark's government after Clark presented its first budget.

The New Democrats expect to win more seats in the House of Commons than they've ever held before. Their previous record was 31 seats, in 1972. When the government fell in December, the NDP held 27 seats. Now there is talk in the party of picking up 40 seats. NDP leaders have targeted about 60 seats across Canada, though NDP candidates are running in all but one of the 282 ridings. When the election was called, party activists were using the phrase "14 or 40" to describe the two possible outcomes of the election—more seats than ever before, or a devastating defeat like that suffered in 1974, the last time the NDP precipitated a general election.

As the campaign develops, one hears much less of that kind of talk. New Democrats note a unique combination of campaign issues and leaders that might bring on the highest NDP vote ever.

A poll taken in late November but not released until January 17 showed Canadians more pessimistic than ever about their economic futures. A majority expect inflation to worsen; 65.7 percent expect economic conditions in general to worsen. A pollster called the drop in confidence "unprecedented." A CTV television poll released four days later showed that the three most important election issues for Canadians were inflation, energy and unemployment.

The New Democrats are making economic issues the centerpiece of their campaign. Ed Broadbent unveiled the party's "Made-in-Canada" jobs policy at a luncheon kicking off the campaign in Toronto. He called for planning agreements to be negotiated with the 150 leading industrial companies that would guarantee new investment and new jobs in Canada. Companies that refused would be denied tax breaks and other government incentives. Other aspects of the program include establishment of a Canadian investment fund to channel investments into key industries and slow-growth regions, strengthening the powers of the Foreign Investment Review Agency—including allowing it to police the performance of foreign corporations operating in Canada, and setting up a small business assistance program.

Industrial policies.

The NDP campaign is focusing less on the distribution of wealth than on its creation—industrial development. At shipbuilding yards in Quebec, Broadbent called for the creation of a Canadian deepsea fleet, which would add 14,000 jobs by the end of the decade. In the Maritime provinces, Broadbent has called for the federal government to bolster the nation's fishing industry. In Toronto, Broadbent

called for \$300 million of additional investment in urban mass transit.

Energy is an issue of special concern to New Democrats. During the Liberal government of 1972-74, the NDP used its balance-of-power position to force the creation of Petro-Canada, the federally-owned oil and gas corporation. In the current campaign, the NDP is calling for Petrocan's expansion. They want a roll-back of oil prices. They've called for a halt to all exports of oil and natural gas, pointing out that while the prairie provinces have been exporting, the Maritimes have been importing fuel. Broadbent has blasted Trudeau's "hypocrisy" in raising the issue of foreign control of Canadian energy resources, since the Liberal government did nothing to bring Canadian energy resources under Canadian control.

The Medicare program, says Broadbent, is in trouble in every conservative province in Canada and the NDP would refuse federal health funds to any province that allows Medicare to erode. The NDP has taken a firm stand in support of women's rights and is running more

The democratic socialists hope for their strongest showing yet as pre-election polls register concern over energy, inflation.

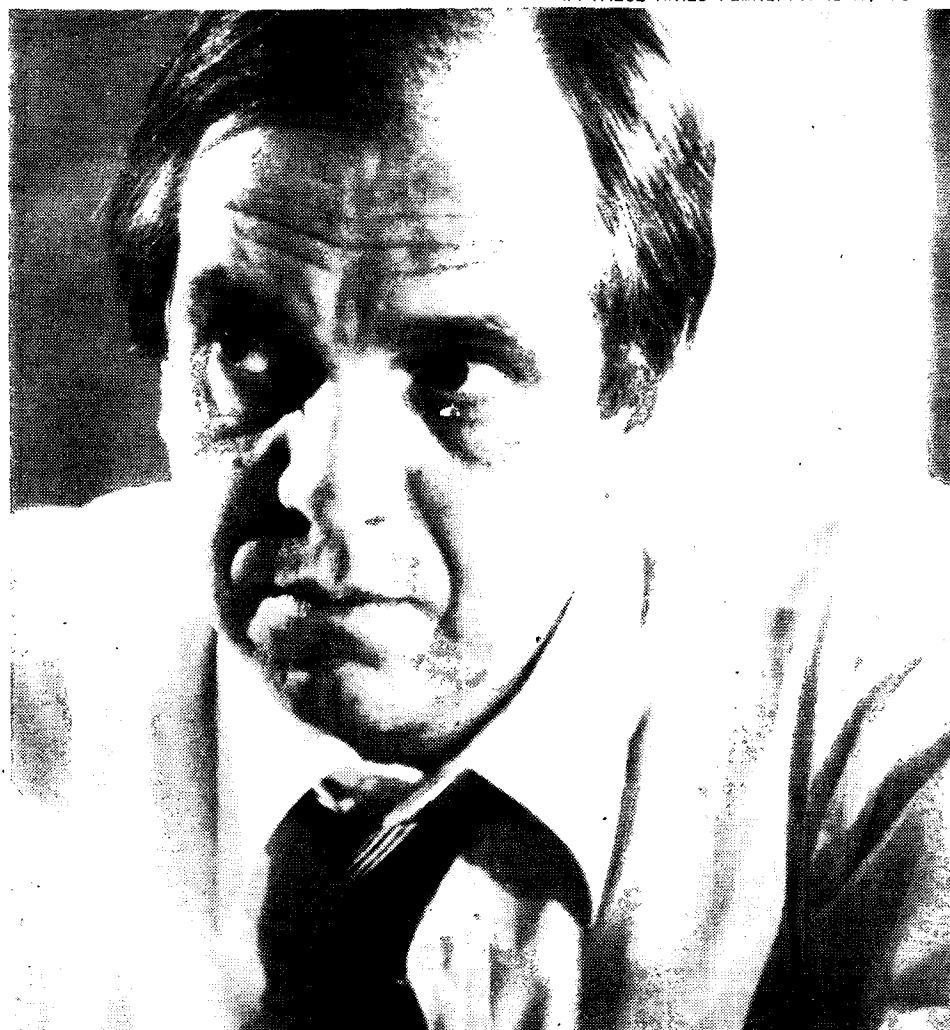
women than any other major party. In British Columbia, Broadbent expressed the NDP's environmental concerns by calling for a ban on U.S. oil tanker traffic off the Canadian coastline. In the North West Territories, the NDP leader called for \$95.4 million subsidy of high fuel costs for northern Canadians.

The Liberals are waging what Prime Minister Clark has called a "peek-a-boo" campaign. Trudeau is being presented to voters as part of a Liberal "team"—a change from the tough, "gunslinger" image Trudeau cultivated in last May's election. When Trudeau refused to agree to a televised debate, Broadbent called the move "anti-democratic" and called for a debate between himself and Joe Clark if Trudeau would not attend.

The Conservatives, faced with the likelihood of a Liberal landslide, have stressed foreign policy, hoping thereby to narrow the gap in the polls. Prime Minister Clark has yanked Canada out of the Moscow Olympics and his External Affairs minister, Flora MacDonald, has asserted that Canada will take "all steps short of war" to counter Soviet moves in the Middle East. Clark went one step further and announced that he couldn't rule out the use of Canadian troops, and called for increasing the national defense budget.

Broadbent denounced the Soviet action. He was the first among the three party leaders to suggest that the Olympics be held in Montreal, but added that if the Olympics are held in Moscow, Canada should not boycott them. But as the issue heated up, Broadbent became more militant. He told a Winnipeg audience that he supported fully "the general thrust and determination of President Carter in letting the Soviet Union know that if it wants to heat up the Cold War, western democracies are ready to face that." Later in the week, Broadbent reminded Canadians that he had served in the Royal Canadian Air Force and that the NDP was not a party of pacifists.

Broadbent himself is considered the NDP's greatest asset in this campaign. He is the best recognized democratic



Widely respected NDP candidate Ed Broadbent may be the party's biggest asset.

socialist leader in Canada's history, thanks largely to television. His image reflects a perceived moderation and reasonableness in the party—symbolized by a dark blue pin-striped suit Broadbent acquired for the campaign. He told a leftist critic in Ontario that "the NDP believes in a mixed economy. There's no

NDP candidates recently announced their support for the "sovereignty-association" proposal of Premier Rene Levesque. Despite criticism from the newspapers, Broadbent refused to censure the four candidates.

Ontario is shaping up as the real question mark of the campaign. Despite 27 percent of the vote in the most recent provincial elections, Ontario elected only 6 NDPers (out of 95) in 1979. Only one of the 23 seats in Toronto is held by the party, but it is expected that at least one more Toronto seat will go NDP this time.

Labor's role.

A key component in the national NDP campaign strategy is the active involvement of the labor movement in every province. The trade unions in British Columbia are raising \$450,000 for the campaign. Throughout the country, shop stewards are being trained to "talk NDP" on the shop floors. The United Auto Workers is pushing the slogan "Let's do it!"—a reflection of their commitment to an eventual NDP government for Canada. The Canadian Labor Congress campaign this time is quieter than the "A Perfect Union: Me and the NDP" campaign of last spring, but is more based on grassroots local union participation. Trade unionists are doing the kind of campaign work, they say, that will mean more in the long run than will be evident on election day this year.

It isn't likely that there will be an NDP breakthrough on Feb. 18. What is likely is the largest democratic socialist caucus ever to sit in a national parliament on this continent—and that would be an impressive achievement by itself.

Eric Lee is an editor of *The New International Review*.

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Draft Statement of ALARM (Academic Liaison Against Renewed Militarism)

LET'S STOP THIS WAR BEFORE IT STARTS!

The deplorable Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is no justification for the new war climate that has settled over Washington.

The Carter administration is misrepresenting the Soviet action as the first step of a "grand design" by Moscow to seize the Persian Gulf and to threaten American national security. In fact, the USSR intervened in a border state to shore up an unstable pro-Soviet regime, not to make new strategic advances.

We condemn the Soviet invasion but we also condemn the reaction of the Carter administration. As George Kennan, former Ambassador to Moscow, recently warned, war hysteria is rampant in Washington. It is clear that the administration is using the Soviet invasion as a device to overcome opposition to its policy of scrapping detente and renewing even-handed relations between China and Russia, set in process a massive increase in defense spending over the next five years, manufactured a "crisis" in Cuba out of thin air, decided to install medium-range missiles in Western Europe despite Soviet military reductions in East Germany, and allowed the SALT process to deteriorate. The Soviet invasion has strengthened those who seek military solutions to diplomatic, social and economic problems; if it had not occurred, it just might have been invented.

WHO WANTS ANOTHER COLD WAR?

President Carter has said that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the greatest threat to peace since World War II. So it will become, if some people have their way. Both *Business Week* and *The Wall Street Journal* in recent issues report that defense contractors are glowing at the prospect of fat new military orders. The CIA/Pentagon network relishes the thought of being unleashed from constraints imposed since the end of the Vietnam War. Politicians, unwilling to discuss matters of substance in an election year, are delighted to wave flags instead. Most seriously of all, President Carter, whose domestic programs have been a conspicuous failure, has refused to campaign for re-election, running instead on a platform of contrived national crisis. Renewed militarism may serve the short-run interests of some Americans but endangers the vast majority.

WHAT WILL ANOTHER COLD WAR COST?

War-time sentiment may unify Americans temporarily but at considerable cost:

- economic problems, already severe, will increase, as higher defense spending boosts inflation, diminishes productivity, worsens the balance of payments, and further undermines the dollar;
- social problems such as energy, urban decay and environmental abuse will be left unaddressed;
- the American people will be denied a reasoned election-year debate on the issues, for a healthy democratic process is incompatible with war fever;
- a military draft and a security-conscious atmosphere will be destructive of civil liberties (and, similarly, suppression of dissidents in the Soviet Union will be accelerated);
- and, most important of all, the peace of the world will be threatened. At the same time that the new cold warriors dismantle those institutions which tend to promote world peace (the Olympics, cultural exchanges, trade), they hasten to bring into being a new generation of nuclear weapons that might upset the precarious balance of terror that has so far prevented one side from attacking the other. The lessons of history are clear: war hysteria breeds war.

HOW CAN WE STOP THIS WAR BEFORE IT STARTS?

By escalating the arms race and encouraging direct confrontation with the USSR, the Carter administration detracts from America's security, strengthens the hands of militarists in Moscow and isolates the United States from more reasonable governments in Western Europe. Resurgent militarism cannot solve America's legitimate security needs. The rush to form alliances with corrupt and unpopular dictators, such as President Zia, of Pakistan, and the sultan of Oman, threatens new Vietnams and more Iranian debacles.

America needs a foreign policy based upon the world as it is, not upon cold war stereotypes dredged up from an earlier era. We urge all Americans to join with us in insisting that our government refrain from undermining international peace and security. We demand an end to the militarization of Washington!

We need \$25,000 to place this ad, along with a list of endorsers, in the Sunday, New York Times.

1200 signatures at \$20 per head will do it. We ask support of other concerned academics. Send immediately your name, affiliation and checks for \$20 made out to ALARM to ALARM, Department of Social Sciences, Polytechnic Institute of New York, 333 Jay Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Other contributors welcome.

ALARM is an independent group of concerned academics. Our steering committee includes Marvin Gettleman, Lawrence Kaplan, Louis Menashe, David Mermelstein, Bertell Ollman, Judith Stein, Michael Wallace and Alan Wolfe.

Hearings

Continued from page 3.

sented to the EDA on March 21, 1979. Two days later, the coalition received a letter over Hall's signature informing them that EDA could offer no assistance to this enterprise.

Rawlings summarized for the subcommittee what the coalition had been able to learn about EDA's conduct through Freedom of Information requests:

- The coalition had proposed a reopening and modernization package of \$245 million in loan guarantees. Mr. Hall claimed his overriding objection was that the loan guarantees exceeded the ceiling for the special steel program.

- The coalition countered with a proposal for a phased reopening and modernization that would remain within the guidelines. Mr. Hall replied that loan guarantees could only be made to fully integrated companies and phasing would disqualify the project.

- The coalition learned there were numerous internal memoranda on the Youngstown project in Commerce Department files, including critical comments, that had never been shared with coalition consultants.

- The role of EDA since March 29 has been to seek a compensating solution for its sad performance in Youngstown. The agency hired the Rev. William Hogan, an economist at Fordham University, to design an alternative plan for Youngstown. Father Hogan proposed

that the area might be the site of a large coke oven battery employing 300 to 600 persons. The area is faced with the loss of 10,000 jobs in basic steel alone and when the mills finally close there will be no blast furnaces to use the coke.

- EDA has announced that it would make available \$100 million in loan guarantees for the Youngstown coke battery even though it would not be an integrated steelmaking facility as required of the coalition proposal.

During the two days of hearings, the subcommittee also heard testimony on the success of ESOPs at Bates Fabrics, Inc., in Lewiston, Maine, and Colonial Cooperative Press in Massachusetts.

Bates Fabrics, founded in 1850, was acquired in 1965 by a holding company that soon began to diversify into energy and computer firms. At the time domestic textile companies were under severe pressure from imports. Because of their low rates of return, the new company began divesting itself of textile operations. The Lewiston plant was put up for sale in 1975.

But local management in Lewiston decided to set up the ESOP rather than allow the mill to be sold to a third party who would acquire the Bates trademark and close the plant.

Bates became an ESOP in 1976 with funds borrowed from the First National Bank of Boston and guaranteed by the Farmers' Mutual Home Administration. The company has been operating profitably ever since, a Bates vice-president told the subcommittee.

The subcommittee plans additional hearings on the impact of mergers, but Bedell said the hearings are not aimed at developing legislation.

Safety

Continued from page 6.

are replete with problems. Nobody has analyzed the 50 different workers' compensation systems nationwide. We are also waiting for OSHA to analyze the impact of the bill. Over the years the AFL-CIO has learned that to win a battle in Congress, you need hard data." OSHA expects to release their analysis by the middle of February.

Davis added, "We have no idea when the bill is coming up for a vote. Effective organizing in a situation like this is done around a certain date or time period."

Despite these problems, the labor movement has recently begun to get information out, and is now making good progress. Ray Denison, legislative director for the AFL-CIO told IN THESE TIMES that "soon after the bill came out we sent letters to all of our state organizations and international unions. Fact sheets were developed and sent out. Every member of the Senate has been taken as an assignment by one of the unions, to acquaint them with the problems of the bill and discourage support."

While the current AFL-CIO strategy seems to rest on lobbying the Senate—hopefully causing the bill to die in committee—there are other options. In the event of Senate passage, the bill must go through the House Subcommittee on Education and Labor Health and Safety chaired by former United Mine Worker general counsel Joseph Gaydos (D-PA). *Occupational Safety and Health Letter* reports that the true hopes for defeating S.2153 may lie with Gaydos in the House.

The United Auto Workers, which may lose OSHA coverage on as many as half their plants should the bill pass, appears to be taking the lead among independent unions. The UAW has already distributed a preliminary analysis.

In addition, environmentalist groups such as Friends of the Earth and the Washington-based Environmentalists for Full Employment have been publicizing the issue. EFFE is working on a coordinated effort to involve anti-nuclear and environmental activities.

The best defense.

The Conference on Work and Health was encouragingly well attended by labor, government and health care people

who seem committed to working together. A range of political perspectives caused some debate. Some "experts" emphasized the importance of smoking and other "lifestyle issues" as the most vital in occupational disease. Angry labor activists disagreed, labeling this "blaming the victim."

The latter perspective was expressed by Samuel Epstein, author of *The Politics of Cancer*: "We live in a complex technological society where that segment of society with the ability to profit from technology has been able to develop a disproportionate impact and influence on decision making. The result and the consequence of this imbalance is cancer."

Epstein's perspective, born out by the Schweiker Bill, calls for a change in focus: The battle has gone from the scientific to the economic. He goes on to say to the labor movement, "You've got to be prepared to argue your view of the cost of human life. You've got to be prepared to argue that the trivial costs of regulation today are far more than out-matched by the much higher costs of the failure to regulate."

Even so, the labor movement is in a defensive position, once again fighting off an attack rather than expanding OSHA powers.

Jack Sheehan, legislative representative for the Steelworkers, suggested a way to turn that situation around, and yet allow Williams, who chairs the Senate Labor and Human Relations Committee, to save face: "The chairman could say, 'Let's just put this bill to the side for now and look at all aspects of the safety movement in the U.S., including S.2153.' It could turn into a real hearing, instead of a discussion that would be a completely negative and defensive exercise."

Perhaps Tony Mazzocchi, Health and Safety director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, took the question farthest in comments to IN THESE TIMES during the conference: "Even a victory over the Schweiker Bill would be a defeat. It's a defeat as long as we are on the defensive. ...The AFL-CIO has a competent team of lobbyists working against this bill. But it's not a question of competence or logic, it's a political question. I think the only solution is a labor party. I don't see anything else to retard the employer offensive in the 1980s."

Charles Piller writes for *In These Times* from San Francisco.

While the right calls for a forceful response to events abroad, and liberals capitulate on every point, the left has been strikingly silent. We are proud to present here the first symposium of the democratic left on Carter's policies.



Collage by Paul Merrill

COLD WAR

WILLIAM WINPISINGER

WITHIN JUST THREE SHORT months, President Carter has done what the Committee on Present Danger and the American Security Council hadn't been able to do for ten years. Namely, dynamite detente and whip up war hysteria.

One might be tempted to question the President's motives and suggest he never had it so good since the international crises of the last three months. Certainly, he's riding a popularity wave that has catapulted him into a resounding lead over his Democratic rival, Senator Edward Kennedy. But one shouldn't question motives. It isn't necessary. The President's record with respect to detente is revealing enough.

Consider, for example, the price Carter was exacting for Senate ratification of the SALT II treaty, months before he let the Shah into the country or the Soviets lowered the sledge hammer on Afghanistan. By all accounts, the SALT II treaty was to be the acid test of continued detente. In Vietnam, over the wet ink of their signatures, Carter kissed Brezhnev on the cheek, then returned to the White House to undermine the spirit, if not the letter, of the treaty.

But his undermining of the treaty and detente had begun well before that. First, with the appointment of General Signeous, he delivered the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency into the hands of the military. ACDA was chartered as a civilian agency, with a mission to prepare and plan for disarmament and peace, rather than to preserve and stabilize the existing system of creeping Cold War. But the General is a groupie of the American Security Council's committee to dump SALT.

Second, the President seriously undermined the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) principle, by authorizing phased production of the hideous neutron bomb. There's the ultimate dada weapon. Preserves property and kills people. Carter offered it to our Western European allies, then said they couldn't have it. (There's more money in Pershings and GLCMs).

Third, and similar to the damaging significance of the neutron bomb, the President's decision to authorize the MX-missile clearly negated the spirit, if not the letter of SALT II. Here was an obvious effort to gain

first-strike capability and upset the nuclear deterrence principle. Should this attractive nuisance ever invite the children of the Soviet war machine to attack, they will have no choice but to obliterate great parts of three states—Arizona, Nevada and Utah.

Fourth, the President's failure to curb foreign military sales, as he promised when he was only a candidate, further raises the cost of the arms race and pressures the barometer of distrust. Distrust has always been the major obstacle to assuage or overcome on the path to disarmament and arms limitation. Carter has not only blown his promise, he's set two successive-year records in foreign military sales.

In spite of the high-technology catalog of weaponry provided to the Shah of Iran, he was driven from his throne with sticks and stones, while F-4 jet fighters and Chrysler-built tanks and Lockheed missiles sat poised and squatted, immobilized and useless. The Shah needed slingshots, not sophisticated weaponry. And as it turned out, foreign military sales saved neither him nor Chrysler.

And now, Carter has taken the lid off foreign military sales altogether. Defense and State departments don't even have to approve sales anymore. American weapons makers have been given the go-ahead to make their sales direct to governments in the tinder-box countries. Afghanistan opened the door.

The arms deal with Pakistan dynamites another pillar of international arms control—nuclear nonproliferation. Pakistan has A-bomb capability and Carter once refused economic and military aid to Pakistan because of that. But his reaction to the Soviet move on Afghanistan threw the baby out with the bathwater. Let Pakistan keep the bomb and give 'em a half billion dollars of high technology weaponry, too, whether they use it against the Soviets in Afghanistan or against their arch-enemy, India, remains to be seen.

Fifth, Carter's capitulation to Congressional big defense spenders, is another breach of promise that never came close to buying support from anti-SALT senators Nunn, Jackson and Moynihan. His capitulation only strengthened the hands of Garn, Helms, Thurmond and Tower.

There is another interesting question presented here. As taxpayers, expected to dole out hundreds of billions of dollars each year to the Pentagon, if our armed forces are in such sorry state—if the boys don't have combat boots to wear or bullets to shoot—if the navy is a flotilla of rust buckets—if cruise missiles won't

Continued on next page.

Americans have not forgotten the lessons of Vietnam. I sense a continuing and profound distrust about Carter's attempt to revive the discredited "domino theory" in the Persian Gulf. The cold warriors are now in full voice but the forces of peace are beginning to find their voices.

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Continued from previous page.

cruise—if the F-16 won't fly—if the Minuteman Missile has never been successfully fired—why hasn't the Congress, particularly the Hawks, demanded an investigation for fraud, corruption and mismanagement?

Since graft, kickbacks and payola characterize foreign military sales, it is likely those features exist throughout the defense industry.

In any case, escalating defense budgets are no signal to the Soviets or the world that the U.S. is interested in scaling down the arms race.

Sixth, Carter's supercilious rejection of last fall's Soviet offer to reduce troops, tanks and missiles in Eastern Europe, demonstrated a lack of good faith bargaining. His response to deploy Pershing and Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) in NATO countries had to be an affront to the Soviets. Their own Hawks must have turned to Breznev and said, "See. We told you so."

The fire and ice of a revived Cold War puts us millions of light years away from economic and political democracy.

History will record this as Jimmy Carter's supreme failure.

William Winpisinger is President of the International Association of Machinists.

RON DELLUMS

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS TERMED his annual budget for Fiscal Year 1981 (a whopping \$615.8 billion) both "prudent and responsible." It is neither. It is a panicked response to unmet needs and false crises that combines the worst features of a Jarvis tax mentality, Friedman economics and a Strangelovian view of global politics. It is nothing less than a blueprint for insanity on the installment plan.

The current defense budget is the reflection of a man who, in 1976, campaigned on the promise of cutting the defense budget by \$7 billion per year. Having failed in the interim to secure a strong electoral base, Carter has now decided to campaign for re-election as a born-again Cold Warrior.

When Carter assumed office in 1977 the defense budget was under \$100 billion for that fiscal year. Now, four years later, he is seeking a defense authorization of \$158.7 billion for Fiscal Year 1981.

What is even more incredible is that this drastic increase in the defense budget was decided upon before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the demise of the SALT II Treaty. In the wake of these developments, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has already informed the Armed Services Committee that he will be back for further supplemental requests during the next few months.

Nobody can deny that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was morally wrong and politically stupid. The proper response for the U.S. is to determine the type of most effective diplomatic and economic action to preclude further aggression. This response must be proportional to our proper perception of how, and in what manner, Afghanistan affects our vital national security interests vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

Carter would have us believe that the domino theory is again at work, this time in western Asia. He seems more than willing to embrace Pakistan's General Zia, another in a long line of military dictators without proper support, in the name of defending the so-called "Free World" against Communist aggression. At the same time, he willfully ignores the dominant sphere-of-influence concerns of the other major powers in that area; viz., the People's Republic of China, Indira Gandhi's India, and, most important, the Baluchs and Pushtuns currently suffering under Zia's oppressive rule.

There are now at least 165 nations in the world, counting Zimbabwe and Taiwan. If we were to rank-order them in the context of how vital they are to our national survival and self-interest, then how far down that list would Afghanistan rank? Viewed in this light, is a further inflationary increase in the defense budget and the resumption of the draft part of a proper and effective response to Soviet aggression against one of its immediate border states? If so, then how much more will the stakes be increased when a nation rank-ordered above Afghanistan (e.g., Yugoslavia) might be similarly threatened from within or without? At what level, other than total war with the Soviet Union, will the concept of the employment of nuclear first-strike weapons be considered a viable option? A higher defense budget and a return to the draft at this time, in these circumstances, would further heighten Cold War tensions and make more possible the prospect of a nuclear encounter.

I do not intend to let the Conservative right—and that includes this administration—dictate the national agenda for the 1980s. It is the moral obligation of those who seek peace through mutual disarmament

and the easing of Cold War tensions to continue the struggle for sanity. More than ever, it is a critical moment for this nation's youth. What is at stake is their survival. Their future is literally in their hands—in terms of resisting the resumption, in any form, of a peace-time draft. We must struggle—if we are to overcome the insanity of those who would seek to lead us to disaster through further criminal foreign adventures.

Ron Dellums is a U.S. Representative from California.

BARRY COMMONER

LURED BY THE SCENT OF VICTORY over his Democratic Party rival, in his state of the union address Jimmy Carter openly revealed an administration policy—a war for oil—adopted long before the hostages were taken in Iran or the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. As Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said nearly a year ago regarding possible threats to U.S. supply of Mideast oil, "We'll take action that's appropriate, including military force." So Carter's statement in his message, that a threat to the Persian Gulf oil supplies "will be repelled by the use of any means necessary, including military force," is nothing new. What is new is that the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan has given Carter a useful excuse to dare to reveal publicly this much earlier decision. In exploiting this opportunity, Carter has flagrantly renounced his own campaign promises. He has sacrificed the hopes for peace of the people who elected him on the altar of his own political ambition.

But military action can only destroy oil fields, not preserve them. The oil wells, pumping stations, pipelines and shiploading facilities are extraordinarily vulnerable targets—to missiles, aircraft bombs, guerrilla attacks and sabotage. Any military action in the Mideast oilfields means the end, for years to come, of the U.S. oil supply that now comes from that area. With many nations even more dependent on Mideast oil than we are, a war in the Persian Gulf is certain prescription for a worldwide economic catastrophe. And it threatens nuclear war, for according to a recent *New York Times* story, the Pentagon believes that nuclear weapons would be necessary in such a war.

The U.S. is now importing nearly half its oil not because our domestic supplies are "running out," but because in the '50s U.S. oil companies cut back on the effort to find domestic oil and shifted a large part of their activities abroad. Between 1956 and 1971 exploratory wells drilled per year in the U.S. dropped by half. If the oil companies had in the last 30 years drilled exploratory wells in the U.S. at the rate achieved in 1956, an additional 19 to 37 billion barrels (in crude oil equivalents) of oil and gas would have been added to our domestic reserves—enough to eliminate all oil imports for a period of six to 12 years. Our present dependence on foreign oil is the result of a decision made, not by the people or even the government of the U.S., but by the oil companies, who went abroad because profits from foreign operations are much higher than domestic operations. Their search for higher profits now threatens us with war.

The Carter doctrine would make war over a country such as Saudi Arabia nearly inevitable. Clearly, popular opposition to the dictatorial Saudi royal family is growing and sooner or later will lead to an internal effort to establish a democracy in that country. Almost every such rebellion against monarchs and dictators in recent times has included at least some political forces that believe in socialism or some other Marxist approach to social organization. If then, inevitably, such a rebellion against the Saudi monarchs develops, it would be regarded—under the Carter doctrine—as a Soviet incursion into the Persian Gulf and a cause of war. In effect, the Carter doctrine is a guarantee of war.

The Carter doctrine is a direct result of the failure to create a national energy policy. A sensible policy could have improved the national distribution of both foreign and domestic oil and oil products and so avoid the spot shortages that have led to gasoline lines and unnecessarily high prices. It could have begun to phase out imports by increasing domestic production of oil and natural gas. It could have had alcohol—an excellent solar substitute for unleaded gasoline—already available. It could have begun a massive transition to renewable, stably priced solar energy. But Carter failed to present the Congress with an energy policy that made sense and the other leading democratic candidate, Ted Kennedy, equally failed to use his vaunted political prestige to develop such a policy in the Congress. Neither can escape responsibility for the failure to establish a national energy policy—a failure that has now generated the clamor of war talk.

Carter's cynical political act calls for a political response. It calls for a program that calms the conflicts in the Mideast, not one that aggravates them; that, rather than preparing to "defend" Mideast oil supplies by military action that could only destroy them, diminishes U.S. reliance on this resource; that in contrast with the failure to create an energy policy, launch-

es a massive program for a transition from our present, costly and dangerous reliance on foreign oil, nuclear power and other increasingly expensive nonrenewable resources, to renewable solar energy.

These steps must be accompanied by political moves to end U.S. support of dictators and monarchs in the Mideast, for such support automatically puts us in opposition to the inevitable and rightful popular revolts against these rulers.

An immediate practical step would be to create a federal oil agency, publicly funded and publicly governed to control importation, distribution and domestic production of oil. A single agency to import oil could contract for oil imports at long term, stable prices and eliminate the spot shortages and excessive prices due to competition among dozens of separate companies. Contrary to the "free market" myth, such competition leads to increasing dependence on high spot prices for oil. The same agency could contract with U.S. oil companies for production of domestic oil in amounts to be determined, not by the oil companies, but by the agency—which if need be could undertake the necessary exploration and production itself.

In a word, instead of starting a war in the hopes of taking over the Mideast oil fields, we need to start a political campaign to take over the Texas oil fields.

Barry Commoner is now a leader of the Citizens Party.

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

THE SOVIET UNION ACTED AS an imperialist power in invading Afghanistan, asserting in Marxist fashion its unalienable right to trample on the sovereignty of any nation on its border. That it is quite possible that at least some of those fighting the communist regimes in Kabul were, or are, reactionaries, does not alter their right to self-determination. The fact that Ayatollah Khomeini came to lead the Iranian revolution and that he is a theocrat did not deprive the Iranian people of their right to overthrow the Shah. Indeed, when foreigners suppress popular resistance movements, whatever their politics, they tend to unite masses behind them.

In making a communist dictatorship supported by Russian troops the alternative to Islamic fundamentalism, the Soviets have probably struck a blow in favor of fundamentalism.

(Moreover, as Mike Barry's interview in the January 14 issue of *News Observer* makes clear, the basis of the Afghan resistance movement is not at all as simple, or as reactionary, as many think.)

Second, a clear denunciation of the Soviet invasion is not an endorsement of President Carter's response to it. On the contrary, Carter's military escalation must be fought vigorously. He assumes that the Russians are acting on the basis of a new, global and aggressive strategy. The evidence suggests, as George Kennan brilliantly pointed out in the *New York Times*, that Moscow was involved in a defensive aggression which was ham-handed and unconscionable, but not a bid for world supremacy.

Third, the unstated assumption of the "Carter doctrine" is that Americans have to be ready to die to protect a criminally wasteful, corporate dominated, energy infrastructure which makes us unnecessarily dependent on the Persian Gulf. Moreover, if, as Kennan suggests, the brutal arrogance of the Soviet move is a portent of hawk power in the Kremlin, this is a time for great care, lest we invite the ultimate of World War III.

But then even if Carter were right in his simplistic analysis, his policies make no sense. He is "throwing money at problems" in an inflationary way that will not produce the means to avert a new Kabul or a new Teheran. Worse, in proposing to reinstitute the draft, he is edging toward throwing young men and women at problems. Yet, as Senator Edward Kennedy pointed out in his Georgetown speech, that move would save a mere 13 days in mobilization time and would still leave us with a six month training program. Even in military terms, then, this makes no sense. Further, the destabilizing of the balance of terror through an escalation in a costly and counterproductive weapons system like the MX is a way to move toward World War III but not to enhance American national security.

I am against the use of the food "weapon" on moral grounds. I think it does make sense to withhold high technology from the Soviets for a while at least to let them know that their actions will be met with more than words. But I believe that we must push for disarmament—for the resumption of SALT II and, even more importantly, strides towards SALT III—more than ever before, for we have just been taught anew how precarious "detente" is.

The immediate priority of the democratic left should be to defeat Carter's draft proposal. The Kennedy speech at Georgetown had flaws, but it put a major presidential candidate on the side of the left and we should align ourselves behind the excellent anti-escalation thrust of that document rather than quarrel over this or that detail. The new anti-war movement, in short, must be as broad as possible, more black, brown and working class than in the '60s, and that means that the fight against escalation must be linked to the fight for living standards and economic justice.

Michael Harrington is the head of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

J E F F F A U X

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY told workers at a New England shipyard recently that the country hasn't been so united since World War II. He then described how he expects a big expansion in Navy contracts with plenty of jobs for everyone.

It should be no surprise that the political establishment has seized on the troubles in Iran and Afghanistan to divert people's minds from the deteriorating standard of living at home. We don't need a specific conspiracy theory to understand what is going on. Wherever the thread of cause and effect will lead historians, the Iranians did seize the U.S. Embassy personnel and the Russians have invaded Afghanistan. Those concerned with progressive politics in America cannot change those facts. What we can do is work to change the American response, which so far has been dominated by the opportunistic and hysterical reactions of scared politicians.

The response of the Democratic administration and the Congress has been to embrace a new Cold War fever with the passion of sinners returning to the fold. Liberal Democrats are lecturing their constituents on the need for a renewed arms race to keep the Russians from threatening the Persian Gulf. Less than a decade after the debacle in Vietnam, the Senate's liberal conscience is blithely raising the possibility of another land war on the Asian continent. Senator Kennedy now supports the MX missile, an increased military budget, and agrees with Ronald Reagan on the need vastly to increase our Naval presence in the Middle East.

This is not a temporary political phenomenon. It is a response imbedded in the current capacity of the U.S. to respond to the crisis of the new economic era of stagflation, slow growth, and international monetary instability. This incapacity is rooted in the dominance of the corporate system over the politics of both parties.

The energy component of the crisis is one example. More than six years have elapsed since the Arab boycott and still no serious steps have been taken to loosen the dependence of the U.S. on foreign oil. Presidents and presidential contenders make loud noises about controlling the oil companies, but no matter who is elected the appalling influence of the oil industry on the White House and Congress remains.

The excuse is always that "the country is moving to the Right." Yet polls consistently show majorities for rationing rather than high prices, price-wage-profit controls to fight inflation rather than tight money and tight budgets, a public energy corporation, the government to be employer of last resort, and so forth.

But building on this base of political ideas would require an open break with the corporate sector, and the drying up of campaign funds from corporate political action committees, which now give most of their money to Democratic candidates.

The beating of the war drums over the Middle East has thus created a vacuum in the debate on international affairs. Abandoned by fair weather liberals, it is now up to us to construct an alternative to the remilitarization of both domestic and foreign policy.

The Citizens Party is preparing its contribution to that debate by encouraging an internal dialog on foreign affairs in its chapters, leading to the adoption of its platform at its April convention in Cleveland. In addition to the domestic strategies for placing the major energy and investment decisions under public control, the elements of that foreign policy discussion so far include:

1. Distinguishing between the nation's interests and private corporate interests. As one member put it: "It's Mobil's deal that is being threatened, let Mobil fight the Arabs."

2. Resistance to increased military spending. More guns and ships will not force the Russians out of Afghanistan. The key to stabilizing the area is to stabilize relations between the Soviets and the U.S.—SALT II, more trade and a joint review of the rules of the international game.

3. A public acknowledgement that the events in Iran and Afghanistan are related to our own CIA-backed adventure in the area. The hypocrisy of U.S. pronouncements has to be cleared away before reasonable dialog can begin.

4. A common sense approach to the specific issues. For example, the Shah is an accused fugitive and at the

Continued on next page.

Carter long ago broke his campaign promises to reduce arms spending and to cut back foreign military sales. Now, in response to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, he is abandoning even lip service to these goals, and is also abandoning his commitment to stop nuclear proliferation.



Military action can destroy oil fields, but it can't protect them. They're too vulnerable to every form of attack. A military response in the Middle East will only guarantee that, for years to come, no oil will be available from the region.

Continued from previous page.

very least ought to be tried by some international tribunal for his crimes. American support for this or some reasonable alternative would defuse the machismo-laden tension on both sides of the hostage issue.

5. Taking the United Nations seriously, instead of running to it only when the crisis has gotten out of hand. An American position on the Mideast that was truly "owned" by a UN majority as a result of cooperative policy-making could be a strong deterrent to Soviet adventurism.

6. A willingness to extricate ourselves from doomed authoritarian regimes.

7. Emphasizing long-term trade and economic agreements with the third and fourth world countries guided not by the profit-maximizing demands of our multinationals but by the long-term goals of the American nation. This, of course, requires a commitment to economic planning of the domestic economy—which we believe is an absolutely necessary, although not sufficient, condition for a U.S. foreign policy based on human values.

The 1980s will be a dangerous time. The tendency of "Republican" parties to risk war to rescue themselves from their domestic failures will over time create a new peace movement in the U.S. In the 1960s there was no political vehicle to translate the accomplishments of the movement into real political power. This we believe will be one historic role of the Citizens Party over the coming decade.

Jeff Faux is Chair of the Citizens Party.

RUTH MESSINGER

RIGHT NOW THE MAJORITY OF THE American people are still numb from the sudden plunge back into the icy depths of the Cold War. They are frightened and confused. But it would be a serious error to think that the jingoistic bleatings of the editorial writers, or the early results of the Democratic caucuses, are an even remotely accurate measure of the true national feeling.

Whatever the war lobby may think, Americans have not forgotten the lessons of Vietnam. As I meet and talk with people, I sense a continuing and profound mistrust of presidential power, along with deep hesitation about Carter's attempt to resurrect the discredited "domino" theory and transfer it to the Persian Gulf. The Cold Warriors may be in full cry, but the forces of peace are just beginning to find their voices.

This was especially clear to me when I spoke at the first local anti-draft rally, hastily put together by students at Columbia University. As the mother of two teenagers, I went to express my own anger, and fear, at Carter's new registration for slaughter. I came away reassured that this generation is no more willing to sacrifice itself to the lies and cynical maneuvers of this president than its older brothers were willing to do for Johnson and Nixon. (Most reports fail to note that Carter made his major pronouncement about the current crisis while most colleges were closed for the mid-year break. We will be hearing a great deal from the nation's campuses in the weeks and months to come.)

This time, I hope, our young people will not have to wage a lonely resistance while the rest of the country awakes. An entire generation had its politics shaped by Vietnam. Millions of "middle class" and working class Americans have not forgotten the bitter lessons of that brutal, tragic war. The resistance movement that took years to emerge in the '60s and early '70s should only require months to mobilize in the current crisis.

That movement is groping now for its vehicles of expression. The first, and most important, is obviously the current political campaign. None of us need agree with everything Senator Kennedy says to recognize that his candidacy is now the most crucial means of repudiating Carter and the resurgent right. In a very real sense, his Georgetown speech marked the opening of the presidential campaign.

And make no mistake, Kennedy's success or failure in the contests to come will be viewed by the press and the warmakers as a national referendum on Carter's bellicose foreign policy. I know this statement will make many of you uncomfortable, but it is an inescapable fact.

The key immediate challenge we face then is to elect as many "peace" delegates as possible to the Democratic convention, while simultaneously building a strong, grassroots anti-war, anti-draft movement. History never repeats itself, of course. This is not 1968. We must find new ways to bring our message to the American people, linking the question of peace to new economic and social issues.

Today the democratic left has the potential to build a lasting coalition with labor, minorities, women and youth based on the experience of our shared oppression. At the heart of this coalition's program must be a

commitment to peace based upon a consistent and rational foreign policy. This requires a real commitment to substantive disarmament, democratic liberation for the Third World, a rejection of both American and Soviet imperialism and a recasting of the world's economy to abolish hunger and poverty while moving toward new sources of renewable energy and new opportunities for employment.

The renewed and very real threat of nuclear war, teaches us the fundamental lesson that our failure to solve the basic problems of the world's economy leaves us constantly open to the threat of annihilation. We must move away from the Carter war doctrine toward new options for longer term peace.

Ruth Messinger is a member of the New York City Council.

RICK KUNNES

CARTER IS PROVIDING A MATERIAL substratum for the re-kindling of the cold war with his hyper-militaristic rhetoric and dangerous political distortions. The question remains: why, and why now? Undoubtedly the hostage-taking in Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan are spectacular events. However, these events are in some respects only surface phenomena. After all, the U.S. had already "lost" Iran the year before in a humiliating defeat for U.S. policy. And the U.S. never "had" Afghanistan, especially since April 1978, when a quasi-Marxist coup, closely allied with the Soviet Union, seized control.

On the one hand the hostage-taking and the Soviet invasion do not represent any new losses or threats to the U.S. However, they do occur in an election year; and they are symptomatic and symbolic of the American role as a declining world power, a decline that has accelerated since the "fall" of Indochina in 1975.

In no way does U.S. capitalism face imminent or even intermediate-range collapse. But the U.S. is faced with a long-term crisis, actually many dialectically related crises: 1. A declining ability to militarily intervene where, when and how it chooses. 2. Increased world-wide commercial competition, especially from Japan and Germany, but far from limited to them. 3. The OPEC-ization of Third World resources, not only of oil, but also of coffee, aluminum, tin, etc.. 4. A crisis in legitimacy domestically, due to a number of factors: the capillary penetration of the state into all aspects of life, thus "over-politicizing" all issues; Watergate; the drying up of the trickle-down flow of money to significant sectors of the working class and middle strata; and the failure of Keynesian economics generally, etc.. All this is occurring in the context of Soviet political ascendancy, and the prospect for many and immediate-future U.S. "losses" beyond the more recent ones of Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, S. Yemen, Jamaica, Grenada, etc., for example, Guatemala, Honduras, Zimbabwe, etc.

While the U.S. dinosaur is very far from extinct and has a considerably long life-expectancy, it is taking a beating. We may even be in a period somewhat analogous to the late '40s and early '50s when we witnessed the "fall" of China, the Korean "police action" a serious recession, and McCarthyism. However, this time the U.S. has far fewer options economically, politically and militarily. This adds up to a crucial juncture for American capitalism.

Part of the attempt of capitalists to recoup their profits is to invest disproportionately in conglomeration attempts (which in the intermediate run will only exacerbate their problem), rather than in new factories and equipment, both at home and abroad, because of domestic and international "uncertainty." And that uncertainty and fear on the part of the monopoly sector is undoubtedly on the rise as they face new international losses and limits. This indeed is an "age of limits" for them as well as for the working class. Not surprisingly, major fractions of the monopoly sector have placed tremendous pressures on Carter (for whom there is very little in the way of counter-vailing, organized working class pressure), to limit the limits increasingly placed on the ruling class.

The "foreign policy" debate has thus shifted greatly to the right, where the terms and symbols of that debate are dominated by the "defense" establishment and its corporate and political allies. And the symbols, as opposed to the substance, of the debate have become hostage-takers and the Soviet invasion into a country already ruled by quasi-Marxists closely allied to the Soviet Union, neither of which poses any threat to the U.S.

The role of the left is to expose the mystification and manipulation of these issues by U.S. ruling sectors, which is being done in order to re-militarize for potential foreign adventure and to de-democratize domestically in order to have a free hand abroad and "domestic tranquillity."

Rick Kunnes is National Secretary of the New American Movement (NAM).

IN THESE TIMES

EDITOR



Socialist realism meets pious hypocrisy

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan flagrantly violated that country's national sovereignty and independence. It has rightly been condemned by people on the right, left and center in all industrialized capitalist nations and by most Third World nations—even by Communist Rumania.

But the Carter administration has chosen to use this invasion as the pretext for abandoning SALT II, upping the defense budget, instituting draft registration, arming China and extending American military and economic aid to such pillars of Third World reaction as Pakistan's General Zia and Morocco's King Hassan.

In threatening to repel a purported Soviet thrust into the Persian Gulf with military force, it has also increased the danger of war. Carter, who looked as if he was going to be the first twentieth century Democrat to lessen not increase the chances for war has now joined the ranks of Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

The basis of the new "Carter doctrine" is an exaggeration of Soviet aims in Afghanistan. In calling the invasion the "greatest threat to world peace since World War II," Carter transformed a Soviet attempt to keep a border satellite in line into a thrust into the Persian Gulf. But there is little historical justification for this interpretation.

What the Russians have done.

If one accepts the big power premise of world politics, which American administrations clearly do, the Russian action becomes merely an exercise in the protection of its sphere of influence. As George F. Kennan, no friend of communism or the Soviets, comments, the Carter administration reveals "a disquieting lack of balance." After all, he writes, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan follows more than a century of periodic Russian involvement in the internal affairs of its turbulent neighbor, and came after many months "of futile efforts to find a pro-Soviet Afghan leader

capable of running the country."

The sudden expansion of what "was already a sizable military involvement in Afghanistan into a full-fledged occupation" was accompanied by promises that the troops would leave when their limited mission was accomplished, Kennan writes. In his view, this was an act of incredible political clumsiness that left the world community with no alternative but to condemn the operation in the strongest terms. But still, the implication is that this is basically business as usual—an implication that anyone looking honestly at the American record would have to concede.

In criticizing Carter's reaction to the invasion, Kennan points out that he did not take into account the "geographic proximity" of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the ethnic ties of peoples on both sides of the border and the political instability of the country. All these factors point to defensive motives, Kennan says, and these should at least have been given consideration by Carter in reacting to the invasion.

Such considerations were clearly taken seriously in Europe, even if Carter's political imperatives prevented him from doing so. As the Paris daily newspaper *Le Monde's* editor in chief wrote, the Russians' problem was "not to conquer a new country but to hold on to one that had become part of their possessions and to put down an insurrection threatening its Moscow-sponsored government. Giving in to popular pressure would have meant, in the Kremlin's view, giving in to counter-revolution, and that was unacceptable. It has never been accepted: Look at Hungary and Czechoslovakia."

But Carter could not have taken such considerations into account. To have done so would have been to undermine his position that the Soviet invasion marked a major break in Soviet policy. And it would have made it less easy to silence opposition to the massive increases in the arms budget he now proposes, or to win support for renewed registration for the draft or for boycotting the Olympics.

Nor can Carter recognize the geopolitical rationale of the Russian invasion, because to do so would be to admit that the U.S. has several times since World War II justified armed intervention or invasion of other countries on the same principles.

But should the U.S. have done anything at all about the Soviet invasion? The Carter administration's responses have to be divided into two kinds: immediate Soviet-oriented responses that include the grain embargo, cancellation of high technology sales, the boycott of the Olympics, and the abandonment of SALT II, and broader responses that included the defense budget, geopolitical threats.

The abandonment of SALT II, the military threats, and the increase in the U.S. defense budget, along with stationing American missiles in West Germany and arming China, will not deter further Soviet aggression. If anything, such actions will confirm Soviet hardliners who have argued for a further militarization of their own society. (It can be argued that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was partly prompted by the U.S. NATO action.)

The grain embargo and other non-military measures are more complicated. By themselves, any of these might be appropriate responses to such a violation of the national sovereignty of another country. But Carter's call for these sanctions does not acknowledge that the U.S. has committed similar acts more than once in recent decades, nor does it pledge that the U.S. will in future conform to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states. Instead, Carter hypocritically ignores the American transgressions, which is one reason why the Persian Gulf nations, the Western Europeans and the Japanese have given little or no support to Carter's proposals, and, in the case of the Middle East nations, have even angrily rejected Carter's warning that any further Soviet incursions in the area would be met by American military force.

Socialist "realism."

By the same token, socialists cannot accept the Soviet rationale. Even if the Russian claims that the regime was being undermined by the CIA and by arms supplied to the rebels by the U.S. and China were true, that would be no excuse. The Soviet intervention is too similar to the U.S. invasion of Vietnam, which was justified by the Johnson and Nixon administrations on much the same grounds the Soviets now use.

True, Vietnam does not border on the U.S., and is not in an area that could be considered vital to American security. But what about the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the Johnson administration in 1964—an invasion that overthrew a popularly supported government that was not communist or even socialist, but was simply not considered a reliable representative of American corporate interests? And what about Cuba? The rationale used by the Soviets in Afghanistan was the flipside of that used by American policy makers to justify American aid to the Bay of Pigs invaders. And it could be used in future invasions in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and elsewhere. Perhaps that is why the Cubans have said little about the current Russian action.

Neither the pious hypocrisy of Carter nor the socialist "realism" of the Soviets is an acceptable basis of foreign relations for socialists. The principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations has gained great ground since the end of World War II, when most of Africa and much of Asia were still in a colonial status. But, of course, that principle is far from secure and has been violated consistently, especially by the U.S. in its role of defender of the world capitalist empire these last three and a half decades. Nevertheless, non-intervention is a socialist principle that every nation must now pay lip service to and that is becoming more difficult to ignore. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has dealt that principle an unwelcome blow.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

EVEN MONEY?

MY SKEPTICISM OF PROPAGANDA ACQUIRED in a life span covering two world wars, Hitlerism and other dictatorships is being strengthened by Paul Sullivan's article "Years of brutality..." (*ITT*, Jan. 16). One gets turned off when reading about an alleged victim of SAVAK, with "internal injuries so severe that he is not expected to live more than a few weeks" at least one year after his release from prison. It strikes me as ridiculous to blame the ex-shah for a "legacy of economic chaos" when it is evident which circumstances have brought on economic chaos.

Ever since the ex-shah's interview with Barbara Walters in St. Moritz several years ago I suspected he was a prince among fellows only by virtue of his office. I became increasingly opposed to U.S. support of him. When Jimmy Carter effusively praised the tyrant during his visit to Iran the erosion of my initially considerable respect for the former was accelerated. Nevertheless I understood why our government wouldn't extradite the former ruler. The ex-shah was a close ally, and it is impolitic as well as immoral to throw allies to the wolves.

I had hoped the ex-shah would be sufficiently concerned with his place in history to go voluntarily to Tehran and to face his accusers. After all, if he is as sick as he looks what does he have to lose?

Yet, one has to keep the issues in perspective. If anarchy in Iran continues, the Russians may soon dominate that country unless the U.S. goes to the brink of WWII to prevent this. I bet most Iranians prefer the return of the ex-shah to either endless anarchy or Soviet domination or WWII.

A.E. Brethauer
Eugene, OR

THE REALLY RADICAL COMMUNISTS

MERVYN JONES IN HIS ARTICLE "Gandhi's landslide" (*ITT*, Jan. 23) writes that the Communist Party (Marxist) is "the more radical of India's two communist parties." India has three communist parties, and CP(M) is far from being the most radical. That honor goes to the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), a West Bengal based Maoist group which led the Naxalite movement in the late '60s and which continues to be a major organizer of peasants and workers. CP(M) is the more "radical" of the two parliamentary parties, but given the situation in India, that isn't saying much.

Michael Ryan
Ithaca, NY

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak
Austin, TX

TERRORIZATION

JULI LOESCH (*ITT*, JAN. 9) URGES READERS to become as indignant about "abortion abuse" as we are about sterilization abuse. Fine. Many of us know women who were pressured into having abortions against their will and realize the unhappiness this can cause.

However, I hope *ITT* readers will not be misled into supporting any of the so-called "informed consent" legislation which started in Akron, Ohio, and is now surfacing in many cities and states. This legislation is proposed, written and supported by individuals and organiza-

tions that oppose the right to choose abortion under any circumstances. (In contrast, the Reproductive Rights Coalition is pro-choice and is against sterilization abuse, not sterilization itself.)

These "informed consent" or "maternal health" bills now making the rounds are an attempt to terrorize perspective abortion patients with grisly pictures of fetuses, scientifically inaccurate statements about their development, morally biased warnings about possible emotional consequences and more.

No-choicers are fond of saying that abortion is genocide. Is birth control genocide? Is it revolutionary to deny poor women control of their reproductive lives? Poverty itself is genocide.

Jean Peterman
Bowling Green, OH

MOBERG THE ROMANTIC

IOBJECT TO THE THRUST OF DAVID Moberg's article on the Chrysler rescue (*ITT*, Jan. 23). He normally ignores romantic ideology and cuts right into the heart of reality. Not so this time on Chrysler.

The final result was purely a case of getting whatever it was possible to get to protect hundreds of thousands of jobs, save the city of Detroit from sure devastation, and put a company in position to beat the socks off the Japanese who close their own borders to imports, but freely sell inside ours.

Getting anything passed in any Congress is always a compromise with what is possible, and this is surely the case with the present Congress.

The final Chrysler rescue was a legislative miracle, is going to mean considerable sacrifice by Chrysler workers, but will save the jobs of a lot of people. I predict the company will turn around and that more worker input into company decisions will be one small step toward corporate responsibility to both consumers and workers.

Franklin Wallick
Editor, UAW Washington Report
Washington, DC

FIGHTING OVER CRUMBS

THE RECENT CUTBACKS IN UNEMPLOYMENT Insurance extensions (*ITT*, Jan. 23) by the Carter administration provide the perfect illustration of false priority setting. Lane Kirkland's inadequate response to this cut in social spending again shows his inability to grasp the larger social picture.

Richard Kazis wrote that "For the government, this change will mean a savings of somewhere between \$400-\$800 million in 1981, savings that in the proposed 1981 budget will be reallocated to housing programs." The fact that the president needed to budget this money for housing is probably due to the pressure and organizing efforts of the Campaign for Housing, which many organizations supported in their recent pre-budget lobbying drive.

It is truly a classic case of the chickens fighting for the crumbs. If Kirkland, one of the chickens I presume, really wants to do justice to the American worker he might want to re-evaluate his own position on military appropriations. Until the President of the AFL-CIO questions whether an F-4 fighter is more important

than housing, health care or unemployment insurance, any victory in one area of social need will only mean defeat for another.

Bruce K. Gagnon
Orlando, Fla.

WORTH HER WEIGHT

FOR SOME TIME DIANA JOHNSTONE has been taking a bit of a rap in Letters. For my price of subscription she's worth her weight in subject. She comes on heavy at times, but I find her perception and analysis most useful in the nip and tuck of day to day dialogue.

I'm sorry if you have had to clear out some material due to space limit but I'm spreading your good words. The price of subscription is high but the rewards are great in spite of my limited budget on social security.

Keep up the good work and spread the truth.

Spike Zywicki
Arlington, Va.

DAVID MANDEL RISES TO HIS DEFENSE

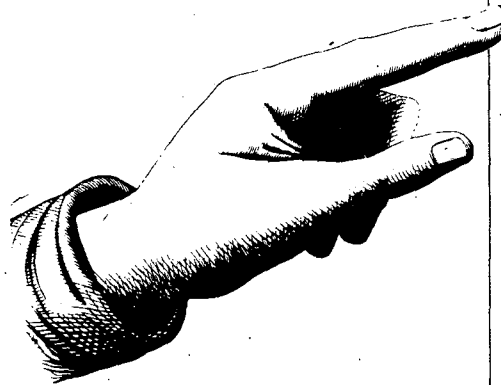
MY FRIEND AND FORMER COLLEAGUE David Shaham unfortunately failed (*ITT*, Jan. 16) in responding to my letter (*ITT*, Dec. 12), to distinguish between my criticism of Norman Levine's account of the *New Outlook* symposium (*ITT*, Nov. 14) and my more comradely criticism of the way in which the symposium was organized and participants chosen.

Perhaps part of the fault is mine—I wrote my response quickly and angrily to correct the impressions left by Levine, and the *New Outlook* editors had not yet returned to Israel, so I was unable to consult with them about the symposium.

Apparently, they did not state that the symposium would be held "on the basis of the Camp David agreements." But in response to slanderous attacks on *New Outlook* by the right two months before the event, the strong impression was left by some of *New Outlook's* defenders it was and that PLO members would be excluded. The impression was so strong that Alex Massis quoted it as fact in a letter, in which he defended *New Outlook*, to the Israeli Communist Party newspaper after the symposium.

A similar error misled me. I apologize for that and for being unaware that the U.S. State Department spokesman reversed himself a day after denying that PLO member Issam Sartawi had been refused a visa. As often happens in the Israeli press, the statement discrediting the peace camp received much greater coverage than its subsequent denial.

Nevertheless, *New Outlook* did endorse the Yariv formula, which spells out conditions for Israeli willingness to talk with Palestinians—"recognition of Israel and cessation of terror." True, for some of its adherents, the formula is



CALENDAR

You and your organization can use the *IN THESE TIMES* Calendar to announce upcoming conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. An actual date is required in your announcement. The cost is only \$10.00, and it can appear for up to 6 weeks. Send copy (maximum: 40 words) to: Bill Rehm, *IN THESE TIMES*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

"calculated to end Israel's total rejection of negotiations with the PLO," as Shaham says, and it is certainly an advance from the government's flat rejection. But for most who accept the formula, it is also a public relations rationalization for refusing to talk with the PLO.

As for Rakah—one Arab intellectual member, Emil Touma, was also invited by *New Outlook* at the last minute. But not a single MP from the Communists or their allies in the Democratic Front—the largest bloc of the left, which won a majority of Israeli Arab-Palestinian votes in 1977—was among the 16 MPs asked to come. Shaham's statement that "individuals associated with Rakah declined our invitation" is misleading on this point. Levine, in his original *ITT* report, falsely described Rakah as opposed to Israel's existence, but it is not surprising that an uninformed observer might have erred after perhaps noticing that no Israeli Communists were present at a symposium organized by *New Outlook*, which claims to "encourage the entire spectrum of the peace movement in Israel," according to Shaham.

I agree with Shaham that "Israeli-Palestinian peace will not be concluded between the PLO and Rakah, but between the PLO and the Israeli establishment." Unfortunately, the *New Outlook* conference included neither, and it was therefore limited in its possible contribution towards breaking new ground, as interesting as dialogue between non-official intellectuals might be.

David Mandel
Jerusalem

CALENDAR

February-May

Long-time anti-war activist, **Ital Roosenko**, will be on a speaking tour of the Southeast February through May. Topics on which Ital speaks include: Gandhian Nonviolence, Strategies for the Anti-Nuclear Movement, Pacifism and Nonviolence, Peace in the Middle East, and The War Resisters League: 56 Years of Nonviolent Action. For information on how to arrange a visit by Ital to your community, write WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701.

February 15

Wrong Moves In Afghanistan. *IN THESE TIMES* correspondent **Fred Halliday** will speak on Friday, 7:30 p.m., at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th Street, New York, N.Y. Admission: \$5.00 (\$2.00 unemployed). Co-sponsored by *IN THESE TIMES* and MARHO.

February 16

"Issues for the 1980s," a conference sponsored by the International Socialist Organization, will feature panel discussions on the no-nuke movement, the World Crisis, the Rock & Roll Revolution, the need for a revolutionary organization, and perspectives for socialists in the 1980s. At 595 Mass Ave., in Central Square, Cambridge, Ma. \$2.00. For more information call 661-8765.

February 20

"Controlling Interest: The World of the Multi-National Corporation," a film by California Newsreel. Plus a discussion of the power of the multi-nationals by *IN THESE TIMES* editor **James Weinstein**. 8:00 p.m., Koon Forum, Leverone Hall, 2001 Sheridan Rd. (Corner of Sheridan & Foster), Evanston, IL. A fundraising benefit for *IN THESE TIMES* co-sponsored by the Progressive Student Coalition of Northwestern University. \$1.00 donation at the door.

March 7

"The Political Economy of Poetry," a talk by **Ron Silliman** at the San Francisco Socialist School, 29 29th Street (off Mission), 8 p.m., \$2 or donation. Childcare available.

ROBERTA LYNCH

Again the other America —the poor—vanish

I REALIZED THE OTHER day that in the scores of articles that have appeared in the major press preparing us for the upcoming decade, there is a striking absence of any discussion of one of the central facts of American life—poverty. Nor, for that mat-



ter, is there even any mention of poor people. Much has been written of "limits" and "lower expectations," to be sure. But there has been virtually no attempt to predict what is in store for that sizeable portion of our population that has already lowered its expectations to the point where it barely has any.

It is, unfortunately, a silence that speaks all too loudly, suggesting a truth too harsh to be told. For you need only read between the lines of these social forecasters to get the grim message that is being given us. If we need to tighten our belts, it is the poor who will go hungry. If we are called upon to make sacrifices, it is the poor who will be offered up.

If the 1960s was the decade of the war on poverty, we are now faced with the very real danger that the 1980s will be the decade of the war on the poor. It is not a war that will be fought with trumpets blaring and banners flying. Rather, like the Vietnam War in its early days, it will be a covert operation, its existence denied, its tactics disguised. And, as with that initial intervention in Southeast Asia, it will likely be camouflaged with an Orwellian vocabulary designed to nullify the nation's conscience.

Perhaps the most ominous sign of this direction is the growing dominance of corporate power over the public sector. The entire city of New York, then the entire city of Cleveland, now the entire school system of Chicago—handed over to the control of the private interests in the form of finance control boards. Already, we are witnessing the cutback of essential public services in the name of "cost effectiveness" when what is really at stake is capital's need for a stable economic order—and its determination to maintain it no matter what the cost to people's lives.

One of the front lines in this battle against the poor—and against public services—is health care. Medical care for the

poor in America has long been a scandal. The advent of Medicare and Medicaid provided a small revolution in access to and quality of services for millions. But there were millions of others who were over Medicaid's unreasonably low eligibility levels or unable to find their way through its bureaucratic mazes. For them, health care was still not a right, but a slim possibility.

The public general hospital has been almost the sole means of realizing that possibility. Yet today, it is under attack across the country. Hospitals in Philadelphia, St. Louis and San Diego have already been forced to close their doors and the new York City network is in crisis.

The case of Cook County Hospital in Chicago provides a dramatic illustration of the nature of this assault.

Cook County is one of the largest public hospitals in the country. Its emergency room have over 300,000 visits a year; its clinic, another 300,000; its satellite community clinics, over 80,000. Its waiting rooms are crowded daily with those who wear the ravages of the city like familiar old clothes.

Perennially underfinanced, it has nonetheless managed to attract a dedicated staff and to provide a high quality of service. Its patients come from across the city, sometimes traveling over an hour on public transportation to reach its doors. It is their only hospital, often their only doctor.

None of the private hospitals in Chicago will admit uninsured patients. Many require an affiliated personal physician to gain admittance. Others turn away Medicaid recipients based on unacknowledged "quotas." Every emergency room in the city features a sign telling personnel how to transfer these "un-

wanted patients to County Hospital. Although the private sector welcomes CCH as a dumping ground, it has long resented County's free and accessible care and the threat it poses to the profit rationale.

In the past year Cook County Hospital faced a financial crisis of unprecedented dimensions. Employees confronted payless paydays and the institution was threatened with having to close its doors.

The cause is simple. County treats everyone who comes to it, regardless of ability to pay. In the case of Medicaid recipients, it is reimbursed in full by the State of Illinois. In most other instances, it must absorb the costs out of a budget provided by local property taxes. In the early 1970s, 65 percent of the Hospital's patients were Medicaid reimbursements. By 1979, after a decade of adding bureaucratic barriers and failing to keep pace with inflation, the Illinois Department of Public Aid reimbursed for only 27 percent of the patients.

The Medicaid eligibility level for a family of four in Illinois is \$4200. Simply put, this means that a family eking out a living on five, six, seven thousand dollars a year, usually employed in the kind of marginal jobs that provide no health insurance, cannot receive any medical assistance. Raising the eligibility level even to the federal guideline of \$6700 would aid thousands of low-income families and help to stabilize Cook County Hospital's financial base.

An urgent need, a straightforward solution. Yet as the crisis intensified, civic and political leaders quietly sat on their hands, prepared to let the Hospital die. Only when a strong protest arose from the employees and the community did they move. And then the result was an astonishing display of deception and autocracy.

They didn't say it should close, of course. That's not the way things are done. Instead they spoke of "mismanagement." They offered no evidence of their charges, but they made them frequently and loudly. And with that par-

ticular smokescreen in place, the deals were made and the doors barely left ajar.

Despite a \$100 million Department of Public Aid surplus, not a change was made in Medicaid procedures or limits. Instead, a small emergency allocation to meet the payroll was held hostage to the adoption of the legislative groundwork for turning the Hospital over to a private management firm that would remedy its "mismanagement."

The management firm, Hyatt (of the luxury hotel business), is just getting in place, but there's no need to wait for its actions to grasp the meaning of this turn of events. A recent report on Cook County Hospital to the state legislature tells the story all too clearly.

A prestigious auditing firm was hired by the auditor general to look into the Hospital's operations. The newspaper headlines trumpeted its conclusions: "Mismanagement Found at County Hospital."

You had to read down a few paragraphs to get to the meat of it, but there it was: the chief indication—really the only indication of this "mismanagement"—"the failure to collect payment from low-income patients."

Cook County Hospital is still alive and struggling. Its supporters continue to fight to insure that it continues to fail to collect from those who cannot pay. For if we have any hope for the 1980s it lies in rejecting the trend toward "financial imperatives," "self-reliance"—and all the other rhetoric that masks the war on the poor.

May we instead succumb to widespread mismanagement. May we mismanage our oil fields and our auto factories, our steel mills and our textile mills. May we mismanage our natural resources and our public utilities. May we, in effect, have an efficiency that does not violate our humanity, a realism that does not deny our basic needs, a social order that does not savage our nation's soul.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

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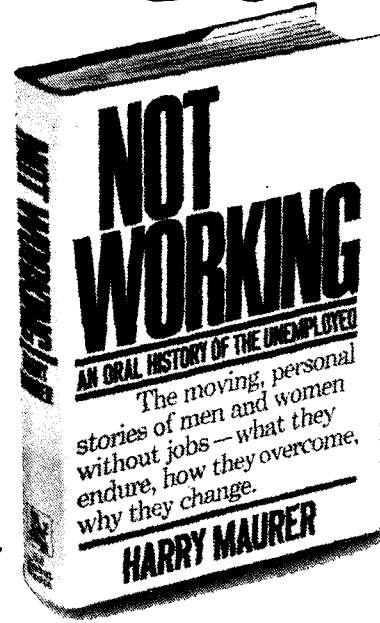
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IN DEPTH

Plant closings are good business, but bad news

By Peter Dreier

BOSTON, MASS.

A FRONT-PAGE STORY IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF JAN. 22 reported that New England's economy was finally "booming" after decades of decline and that the region's bankers and businessmen are optimistic about its "revitalization." The next day, back in the paper's business section, the *Times* reported that Uniroyal, Inc., the nation's fourth largest tire producer, was closing its massive Chicopee Falls, Mass., plant and laying off its 1600 employees. The company's \$25 million annual payroll, and its \$500,000 in annual taxes to the city, would disappear with it. Next day, the owner of a Main Street cafe cut an eight-by-four piece of plywood into the shape of a tombstone and, in large black letters, painted "Here Lies Chicopee Falls."

The *Times'* articles highlight a growing reality in the U.S.—plant closings are good for business, or at least multinational and conglomerate businesses.

This reality, and the need to develop a strategy to respond to it, brought together a broad coalition of New England's labor unions, citizens organizations, and church groups for a one-day conference Jan. 26 in Boston on "Saving Our Jobs and Communities."

Alice Holmes, one of the 425 conference participants, had worked for Aurbach Bathrobes in Fall River, Mass., for 23 years when the company was sold and closed down seven months later. Holmes earned more than \$5 an hour when she lost her job. It took her a year to find another in a Fall River garment plant, at \$2.75 an hour.

Holmes, who was president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union local at the time, recalls, "Your life changes completely. You never think about it until it happens. I was home all day. I had nothing to do."

Her close friend, Laurina Felix, had six jobs in two years, all in Fall River area textile and garment mills, each job lost was the result of a plant closing.

Pressure on unions.

Companies use the threat of closing to keep unions out of plants or to demand that unionized employees agree to cutbacks.

Carl Proper, education director for the ILGWU, expressed concern that the announcement of Uniroyal's closing in Chicopee Falls would affect the union election at the Mastex Industries Mill in nearby Holyoke the following week. Mastex's management has warned that a pro-union vote could lead to a decision to move.

Employees at the Paragon Gears Co. plant in Taunton, Mass., represented by the United Electrical Workers, were told that unless they accepted major changes in their union contract, the company would relocate to the South.

"We called their bluff and we won," explained UE organizer Ron Carver, "but we can't always wait to respond individually when each company's name comes up. We need a counter-offensive to meet the corporations' strategy head-on."

Minnie D'Amico had worked 19 years at the Vacco textile mill in Worcester when she was given a six-weeks notice at age 61 that the mill was shutting down. That was more than a year ago and she's still out of work.

But her son, Gerry, has a job. He represents Worcester in the Massachusetts State Senate. The experience of his moth-

er and thousands like her across the state led D'Amico to sponsor the Notification and Assistance Act with the backing of the conference's sponsors, the state AFL-CIO, the Progressive Alliance, and the Coalition to Save Jobs, spearheaded by the United Auto Workers.

The bill would require companies planning to lay off more than half their work-

loss of public services (schools, police and fire protection, sanitation) and in the human misery (including an extraordinary high suicide rate) that accompanies long-term job loss.

"We need each other," explained John Sullivan, president of Steelworkers' Local 2285 in Worcester. "Most people look at it as just a union problem. If they do, we'll go down to defeat. We need to recognize the social side of it."

Sullivan's union represents the 300 employees of Johnson Steel and Wire, a large company that is building a plant in Mississippi with the same specifications as its Worcester operation.

"My members are afraid. Management hasn't said anything yet, but there are rumors all over. They've got this threat over our heads."

Business blackmail.

But fear of hurting the state's "business climate" and of further eroding corporate investment is used to oppose plant closing regulatory legislation. William T. McCarthy, counsel for the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, the state's strongest business lobby, told in *THESE TIMES* that such legislation is a "leg-hold trap on corporation assets." And the Massachusetts unions generally supported conservative Ed King for governor on the basis of his "pro-growth" stance and his promise to reverse the state's anti-business reputation. This is reflected in widely varying union attitudes toward the D'Amico bill.

Ira Arlook of Ohio Public Interest Campaign argues, however, that experience shows "that businesses aren't going to pick up and leave if we pass these bills or if we take away their tax breaks."

Most people have thought that plant closings are the result of business failures. The idea that corporations are closing profitable plants is hard to take.



An abandoned plant in Clinton, Mass.

force or 250 employees or more to give a one-year advance notice; to give universal severance pay at the rate of one week's pay for each year of employment; and to pay a lump sum equal to 15 percent of the affected annual payroll into a Community Jobs Assistance Fund that would be used to create new jobs.

The bill is modeled after legislation introduced in nine other states. Like the other bills, the Massachusetts version is given little immediate chance of passing. But the fight for the bill provides an opportunity to mobilize diverse constituencies and dramatize the problem.

Private sector unions are being hurt by the loss of unionized manufacturing jobs. Public sector unions feel the squeeze through the loss of an area's tax base. Citizens groups and local churches see it in their members' anger over the

The costs are just too marginal to be decisive, he says. And buying into this argument simply means paralysis, Arlook warns.

In Ohio, OPIC successfully attacked several cases of what Arlook calls the new "psycho-economics" head-on. In Toledo, a major developer threatened to cancel plans to build a downtown office building unless the city came through with a substantial tax break. When OPIC pressure forced the city council to withdraw the tax break, the office building went up anyway.

"If Massachusetts was the only state working on the issue, it wouldn't have a chance," Arlook explained. "But if five or ten states are all engaged in the same effort, it makes it more difficult for companies to play one state against another to attract investment. It also creates a

growing pressure to enact legislation at the federal level to control capital's ability to move at will."

But Arlook and others recognize the limitations of plant-closing legislation. The United Rubber Workers union, for example, had a provision in its contract with Uniroyal mandating a six-month notification before any lay-offs. The clause didn't stop Uniroyal from deciding to close, but advance notice gives communities time to cushion the blow and seek alternative solutions. When a Malden, Mass., mill informed the ILGWU that it was going to close its textile plant, the union found a new owner willing to buy the plant and keep it open—with the union. In Clinton, Mass., the announced closing of the Colonial Press after a conglomerate takeover mobilized local officials, citizens groups and unions to work together to reopen the plant as a cooperative. Advanced notification buys time, and severance pay and mandatory community assistance creates the resources to find solutions.

The Massachusetts conference represented a major breakthrough in this regard. The state's major labor unions, progressive church groups, and the state-wide Massachusetts Fair Share had worked together before. More than a year ago, they waged a successful property tax reform referendum, thanks to a large campaign war-chest bankrolled by Boston Mayor Kevin White. But more recently, without the Mayor's support and money, the same coalition failed to get a progressive tax reform proposal through the state legislature. The defeat hurt the fragile alliance between unions and Fair Share. The plant closing bill represents another opportunity to keep the alliance alive.

For most of the delegates the conference was an eye-opener. Everyone was aware that plant closings are a major problem in the region and the state, but few understood its full impact or the complex reasons behind it.

Since most people have always thought of plant closings as related to business "failures," the idea that companies will close profitable plants, and disrupt human lives and communities in the process, takes some getting used to.

"Globe-trotting corporations will close profit-making plants if they aren't profitable enough," explained MIT economist Bennett Harrison, "and if they can make more elsewhere."

Sperry Rand closed its Herkimer, N.Y., plant because it wasn't making a 22 percent return-on-investment, Harrison noted.

Large conglomerates can actually make money by buying out an independent company and "milking" the profits out of it before shutting it down," Harrison said. Then they can take advantage of federal and state tax breaks for investing in new equipment and relocating elsewhere.

Each period of corporate mergers is followed by a wave of plant closings, Harrison explained. "These aren't random failures," he said. "This is part of a planned corporate strategy."

Harrison based his remarks on his study of the New England economy, co-authored with Boston College economist Barry Bluestone. According to their findings, 100,000 businesses closed in New England (45,000 in Massachusetts alone) between 1969 and 1976, costing a million jobs in the region and one-half million jobs in the state.

While these shutdowns include both the corner grocer and the giant multinational, big corporations account for 15 percent of the shutdowns and over half the job loss. Many of the small, independent businesses that close down do so in the wake of corporate shutdowns that send ripples throughout a community.

These figures, though, represent just the "tip of the iceberg," Harrison said. They do not include the long list of partial closings, where companies close only a portion of a plant. Those statistics will be included in the full study to be released in March by the Progressive Alliance.

Peter Dreier is assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University.

»SPORTSCENE«

By Clayton Riley

Perhaps President Carter's threat to boycott the Moscow Olympics will prove to be a blessing in disguise. In the end, its chief effect may be to focus world attention on the widely known (but never admitted) fact that the games have long been thoroughly politicized. Ever since the Russians began competing in the games in 1952, a good part of the Olympics has been an extension of the cold war, an athletic brawl between the so-called "free world" and the communist bloc.

Only the most blatant hypocrisy about the dangers of mixing sports and politics has enabled Americans to continue to believe in the purity of the games. Such rhetoric was responsible for the fact that no one protested America's participation in the Olympics of 1964, 1968 and 1972, despite the American military presence in Vietnam.

Carter's call for a boycott because of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan drives the point home—and also suggests a solution. Yes, let's boycott the Moscow Olympics—and the Lake Placid Olympics, too. In fact, let's end the whole charade.

The idea comes from an expert, if controversial, source. Harry Edwards, a former athlete and now professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley, helped make some Olympic history in 1968 when he contributed to a celebrated black power protest at the Mexico City games. Now he thinks the games should simply be abolished and replaced with a new, non-political forum.

"First" says Edwards "we must understand that American athletes have been betrayed by Carter. Those who prepared to be in the games may have no real reason to boycott, other than a need to go along with the policy they had no role in making, just



It's a long, cold war on the playing fields

as American soldiers went off to die in Southeast Asia without ever knowing why. But the athletes should learn from this that the Olympics are nothing more than a centerpiece, a showcase for Russia and the U.S. to exhibit muscle and to bully other countries into political obedience.

"If these games are not held, the world may have an opportunity to see them redesigned without the arm-twisting influences of the Soviet Union or the U.S. If the games are moved, the hope should be that they are held in a Third World country where all nations and athletes will be able to return to a truer spirit of competition that isn't based on

the continuing battle between two countries seeking to dominate instead of to participate."

Governments or athletes.

The politicization of the games began when Hitler presented the U.S. with a political motive for performing well. "The U.S. is still embarrassed by its participation in the 1936 Berlin Olympics, which went on without the presence of socialist countries that chose, instead, to hold their own games in Barcelona," explains reform advocate Dennis Brutus, of the South Africa Non-Racial Olympic Committee. Like the Russians, the Nazi regime consistently pictured the

games as a showcase for their political, as well as athletic, prowess.

At the 1956 games in Melbourne, Australia, the bitterness that lingered from Russia's entry into Hungary spilled over into the water polo finals between the countries and left the pool where the match was held colored with the blood of the players.

Theoretically the Olympics are a competition between free individual athletes, not governments. However, when James Gulkes of Guinea petitioned at Montreal in 1976 to run as a man free of the restrictions of a national flag, he was turned down by every decision-making

Who's boycotting the Olympics

The governments listed below have announced their support of a boycott of the Moscow 1980 Olympics because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In some of these countries Olympic committees are independent, however, and may not follow their government's recommendation.

Australia	Japan
Bahrain	Kenya
Bermuda	Norway
Britain	Morocco
Canada	Qatar
Chile	Saudi Arabia
China	United States
Djibouti	Zaire

body associated with the games. Yet what Gulkes asked for will perhaps prove one day to be the salvation of the Olympic games. Eventually athletes should be encouraged to compete as individuals or as members of teams that are not necessarily drawn up with regard to national borders.

If the games were truly what they are supposed to be, in the last Olympics, U.S. swimmers would not have cried about being beaten by East German robots. Nor would American journalists so easily have written off a boxer as classy as Teofilo Stevenson and a runner as brilliant as Alberto Juantorena, because both happened to be Cuban.

Whether the Soviets quit Afghanistan should not be a matter for shot putters and equestrian teams to consider. By demanding a boycott, Americans have boxed themselves in. Though they hate losing, they cannot win in Moscow unless they send a team there this summer. The only way out of the box of no games or rump games might be to see the Olympics redesigned altogether.

Clayton Riley is a New York-based sports journalist.

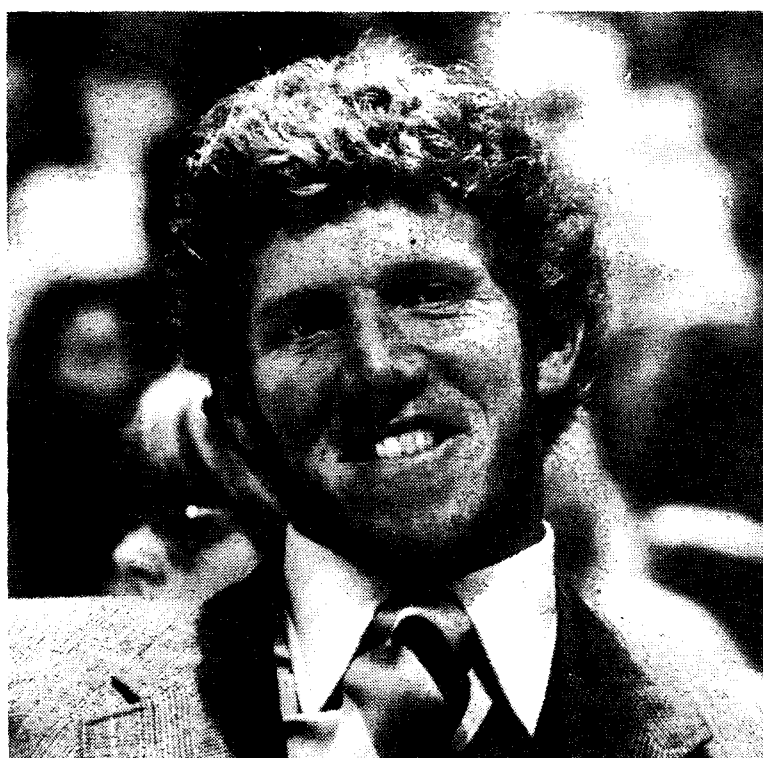
Bill Walton's new image has shaky success

By Bob Edelman

When Bill Walton and the Portland Trailblazers won the National Basketball Association title in 1977, every left sports fan was thrilled and delighted. Here was a player who called himself a socialist, and here was a team that played collectively. Forget that the socialism was hardly out of volume one of *Capital*. Forget that the collectivism reflected coaching authoritarianism rather than communalism. It was unique in the NBA. But it was not to last.

Walton broke his foot, and every other Trailblazer soon broke something else. He sat out the 1978 season and accused Portland management of malpractice and overuse of pain killers. Nothing was proven, but the Portland injuries have continued to mount over the last two years. Maybe it was a question of medical practices. Maybe it was a style of play that promoted the collisions of picks and screens. Whatever the cause, Walton explained his search for a new employer in terms of the difficulty of his working conditions.

With Walton's search for a



new contract came a change in image. Shorter hair, three-piece suits, and "born-again capitalism" all became part of Walton's effort to convince the San Diego Clippers' management that mega-bucks would not be going to a wild man. Any form of radicalism would not have

sat well in conservative San Diego, where ex-admirals, defense contractors, and real estate agents buy season tickets. Would this new attitude (called by Walton "maturity") convince the sporting public?

The price for Walton came high. After the start of training

camp, Commissioner Larry O'Brien stripped the Clippers of three vital players (Kermit Washington, Kevin Kunnert, and Randy Smith), draft choices and cash. There was much public grumbling at the loss of such popular players, but if Walton played as well in 1979 as he had for Portland in 1977, all would be forgiven.

San Diego fans played a wait-and-see game. Only 2,000 joined the original 2,900 season ticket holders. The worst thing that could happen was yet another injury. That injury, at first undiagnosed, occurred in the third exhibition game. Attendance collapsed at home, although the Clippers still drew fairly well on the road. Letters to the sports pages and calls to radio shows accused Walton of faking the injury. Even when it turned out he was seriously hurt, the mistrust did not abate.

Yet one thing prevented the fans from totally abandoning Walton—racism. He has always eschewed the image of the White Hope, but it stalks him even now. He may be a vegetable-eating, left-wing goldbrick, but at least he's white. Outside of Boston, Phoenix, and Utah,

the "problem" of too many black stars could be no more acute than in San Diego county where Klan activity is on the rise.

Walton has already suffered a recurring stress fracture in his ankle. Similar injuries have probably ended the career of Philadelphia's Doug Collins. There is fear that Walton's return may be brief and his career ended.

Fortunately the team has done well enough without him. The team could possibly make the playoffs without the big guy. Thus, the pressure on the star to return at full speed has diminished. A successful cameo appearance in a Jan. 29 game against Phoenix marked Walton's return, and he will probably play a similar role for the rest of the season.

Should Walton finally find basketball success in San Diego, many who thrilled to his earlier triumphs still will have unanswered questions. With the pressure off, will he return to a version of his earlier political and cultural styles, or will he fall further into the embrace of a town that Richard Nixon called his "lucky city"?

Bob Edelman is a San Diego writer and a basketball fan.

Moon

Continued from page 24.

sacrifice in the name of increasing your spirituality and closeness to God, you sacrifice privacy, love relationships, family ties, and all your own perceptions and goals.

How important is the absence of time to yourself in the slide?

It's crucial, along with not having contact with people who could corroborate your past experience and criticize your current one. I felt raped by the lack of time for myself. But because the group calls for a total willingness to sacrifice in the name of increasing your spirituality and closeness to God, you sacrifice privacy, love relationships, family ties, and all your own perceptions and goals.

Betty, now that you know more about the process by which people get indoctrinated into the Church, what would you have done differently?

Betty: Now I would know something about the road signs and danger signals. I would look up a Gary or a Barb and say, "Talk to my young person." In the first few weeks, you have some chance to say that if you're going to make a lifetime commitment, come home for a few days. Set up good, knowledgeable resource people—and ex-cult people are the best resource there is—and then you're there, you're supportive, loving. Within a matter of a couple of weeks, she could not hear us.

Many civil libertarians and progressives who are opposed to what the Unification Church stands for feel that once you begin to attack freedom of reli-

gion, it is easy to apply those principles to attacks against other unpopular religions, political movements, or any other kind of unorthodox behavior.

Betty: Do we permit any group to come in and say it is a church, a religion? Do we automatically accept their definition of themselves? Civil libertarians—of which I am one—have been naive in accepting that these self definitions are appropriate. I also think that they have not dealt much with the fact that there is no absolute right to religious freedom. There have historically been qualifications. Until the ACLU really struggles with the front-end (entering) process as much as it struggles with the rear-end (leaving) process, it doesn't have credibility.

By and large, civil libertarians are not interested in religious problems. They are mostly agnostic or atheists. They also tend to be arrogant enough to assume "Nobody is going to seize my mind. It isn't possible." **You argue, Barb, that freedom of thought should be as much a right as freedom of religion. When the two are in conflict, then you have to make hard choices. Had your parents not taken the matter to court, and in some sense violated your religious rights, would you have had the opportunity to leave the Unification Church?**

I can't say what would have happened on down the line. When I was a four-year member I was prepared to give my life to this cause. I was prepared to have Moon assign me any mate and marry that person, even if I hadn't met that person or couldn't speak the same language. There was no way up to the point I left the group that on my own I would have envisioned leaving.

Your deprogramming had none

of the shouting and haranguing that the term conjures up. How typical do you think your deprogramming was?

Going through an open court hearing was very atypical. That hearing was crucial to my deprogramming, because it began to lift that repressive blanket and I began to see some problems. It made me confront the fact that I was trying to follow truth and I was being dishonest

It is a problem that there are no established standards for deprogramming and no accountability on the part of the people who do it. Some people use victimizing methods, and some use much more respectful, sensitive processes.

I have been involved in some cases where the person is being held against their programmed will. In other words, the Moonie has been presented a legal paper

On reacquainting myself with Marxism, I discovered that Marx was essentially humanitarian. It was very close to the vision I felt I was pursuing in the Unification Church.

in the process. I was distorting facts in order to render the Church blameless. By the end of the trial I wanted to listen, and that's a basic starting point for a deprogramme.

The kind of deprogramming that Gary and I have been doing is what we call volunteer exit counseling. Rather than having somebody grabbed off the street, we work out strategies with parents, help the parents know how to approach their child, and through a demonstration of real love and concern convince that younger person to talk to an ex-member. That only works with people who have been in a short time—six months maximum. That type of deprogramming is not involved with holding a person against their will.

establishing custody over the Moonie by parent. They're brought to a motel, and there are a couple of security people there to make sure the person doesn't run away.

Those have been difficult counselings for me, because I didn't go through that. And yet, I have talked to enough long-term members of the Church and I was in long enough myself to know that without some sort of legal intervention or constraint, I could not have listened to something that was a total violation of my sense of survival. Therefore, I could justify legal conservatorships—holding a person for a period of time when that person feels this is the antithesis of what they want in life. **When I knew you in Santa Cruz**

you were both a feminist and a radical. How would you describe your political opinions now?

I felt so gutted out by the experience that I went through a whole process of reacquainting myself with the good parts of me that still sought further development. I haven't strongly aligned myself with any sort of labels, definitions, or with any existing group, be it political or religious. I suppose I consider myself a Christian in some respects, but not in others. I haven't been able to replace my devotion to Sun Myung Moon with Jesus Christ.

I couldn't say I'm a radical anymore. I feel like I've been reconciling reality out of a dream-like experience that failed. My overall vision is a religious one more than a political one. I still have a strong sense of faith in God. I feel strongly about women's issues, women's rights and equality. I am not certain how I feel about lesbianism and homosexuality. But basically I am a feminist.

I feel like Alice-in-Wonderland in some respects. I've been on one side of the mirror and I've been on the other side. I've been in an organization that claims to be strongly anti-communist. On the other hand, the very organization that was claiming that was authoritarian. Yet I feel there are many authoritarian and totalitarian elements to communist societies and I see a loss of individual freedom in the name of collectivization.

When I was at UC Berkeley, after leaving the Church, I tried to reacquaint myself with Marxism. I realized that Marx was essentially humanitarian, at least in his early days, and it was very close to the vision I felt I was pursuing all along in the Unification Church. ■

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IN THESE TIMES CORRESPONDENT
FRED HALLIDAY

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

CLASSICAL MUSIC

Pop sounds drum out polyphony

By Don Reid & Holly Russell

American music suffered a severe blow in December with the announcement that Teresa Sterne, Vice-President of Elektra Records and A&R director of Nonesuch Records, and her staff were fired as of January 1.

For close to 15 years Tracey Sterne has worked to give Nonesuch Records the unique place it now holds in American recording. Her dismissal brought a wave of indignation from American musicians, composers and critics.

Nonesuch Records was the brainchild of Jac Holzman, founder of Elektra Records. Under Holzman's direction Elektra capitalized on the folk (Judy Collins) and blues (Paul Butterfield) boom of the early '60s, just as it would on the popularity of hard rock a few years later (The Doors). Holzman saw the appeal of an affordable classical record label that would appeal both to older listeners of classical music and to the college audience that bought Elektra's folk records.

Nonesuch was launched in 1964. Nonesuch list prices were much lower than for other American classical record labels and the new label dropped the then standard price differential between stereo and monoaural discs.

During its early years Nonesuch established a reputation for imaginative releases, thorough and accurate liner-notes and remastering excellence. Nonesuch also abandoned the staid packaging favored by other classical record labels. Buyers were taken with the colorful art work on the record jackets from what Sterne affectionately refers to as "the early leprechaun era."

Ambition.

Sterne joined Nonesuch in the fall of 1965. An accomplished pianist, Sterne also brought with her a decade of experience in the music business with Columbia and Vanguard. Sterne, ably assisted by talented individuals including the musicologist-musicians Joshua Rifkin (Brandeis University) and Alexander Blachly (Sarah Lawrence College), developed an ambitious recording program.

One of Nonesuch's major strengths has been the extraordinary breadth of its musical repertoire. No other classical label has recorded in all of the five principal areas covered by Nonesuch: Medieval and Renaissance; Baroque and classical; avant-garde contemporary music with an emphasis on music by living American composers; historical vernacular American music; ethnic music.

Nonesuch recorded Joshua Rifkin's lively and authentic renditions of Scott Joplin's ragtime compositions. These discs were enormously influential in spurring public interest in the nearly-forgotten Joplin. Nonesuch recorded Stephen Foster's songs stripped of fancy arrangements and left as simple folk songs.



Teresa Sterne (above right) was fired after 15 years as Nonesuch director. Distinctive art work on album covers (left) was only part of the reason for the series' success.

When Nonesuch changed hands, American musicians lost a recording label. Consumers lost low-priced classic and avant garde records.

Avant-garde music was often recorded with the composer present and composers wrote liner-notes. Nonesuch commissioned contemporary American composers to write works for recording. One of these, "Time's Encomium," by Charles Wuorinen, won the 1970 Pulitzer Prize.

Sterne exercised what she terms her "selectivity muscle" in search of new material. One result of this enterprising spirit was the Explorer series, which presented music from 85 cultures to American listeners, often for the first time.

Musicians and critics agree that Nonesuch has been able to both develop and respond to public taste without pandering to it. Nonesuch's first commissioned work, Morton Subotnick's piece for electronic music synthesizer, "Silver Apples of the Moon," has a "psychedelic" feel to it, and, as the success of Rifkin's three records of Joplin make clear, Nonesuch could reach the public. Yet Nonesuch never saw classical music as a commodity to be marketed in "Greatest Hits" collections like some of its American competitors in the late '60s and early '70s.

Bigger and bigger.

Nonesuch began as a subsidiary of Elektra. Elektra joined David Geffen's Asylum label and these were in turn taken over by Kinney Corporation, owners of Warner Brothers/Reprise and

Atlantic Records, in the early '70s. This recording conglomerate became part of the Warner Communications Inc. entertainment conglomerate and record distribution for Nonesuch was turned over to the pop-oriented Warners-Elektra-Atlantic Distributing Corporation (WEA).

In the early years of the phonograph, classical music had been the mainstay of record sales. Its position fell precipitously in the post World War II years and in particular since the Beatles gave new meaning to the term long-hair music.

The depression in rock and disco sales during the last year have put the squeeze on music companies. As profits slipped these firms have found themselves forced to restrict their classical record divisions—which produce limited, if steady, sales—in order to focus their resources on potential killings in the pop market.

Classical records sell in much smaller volume than pop music. Perhaps one of every 20 records sold in the United States is a classical record. The marketing of classical records requires a different strategy than that employed for pop records. WEA is used to dealing in large initial record orders and to deleting "slow-movers" rapidly from its catalogue. Classical records sell at a slower rate than pop records but if kept in stock they continue to sell longer at a steady level. Classical labels, therefore, must

keep a complete catalogue. Furthermore, classical records often sell best in college stores and smaller outlets than the large record stores and chains favored by WEA.

Another problem Nonesuch has had is that of record pressing quality. The pressing of a classical record generally requires more care than that of a pop record. In the past, Nonesuch has been at the forefront of recording technology. In 1967 it became the first American company to produce and release a recording taped with a Dolby noise-reduction system. But the

quality of Nonesuch recordings has been subjected to the standards set for Warner Communications' pop discs.

Charging that Nonesuch was no longer profitable and that it had lost touch with listeners' tastes, Elektra ordered the "restructuring" of the label. Keith Holzman, Tracey Sterne's replacement and the younger brother of Elektra founder Jac Holzman, has promised to keep Nonesuch in operation. But all indications are that the label will severely reduce its original recording activities and will instead license more European material.

Protest.

The firing of Sterne was met with outcry throughout the American musical world. Perhaps most dramatic was a public letter from ten Pulitzer Prize winning composers—Carter, Copland, Crumb, Davidovsky, Druckman, Martino, Schuman, Schwaner, Wernick, Wuorinen—who wrote that "no other label has attempted to record this range of repertoire, and, certainly, without Miss Sterne's decisive and artistic management, none could have produced it with such taste and imagination." With the reduction of Nonesuch's activities, many American composers and musicians will be forced to turn to European, and particularly German, companies to get a chance to record.

Rumors of mergers and proposals by German companies to buy American classical labels have been heard frequently in the past few months. Independent jazz and blues labels have managed to survive in America. One hopes that classical artists and producers forced out of the music corporate structure may be able to pursue a similar course. The American music community is not going to quietly watch Nonesuch wither away. New York musicians are planning to hold a concert in Sterne's honor at Symphony Space in New York City on February 20; Ms. Sterne herself hopes eventually to launch a new label to continue where Nonesuch left off.

CULTURE SHOCK



BOOKS

A TV horror story

Bleeding between the Lines
By Eliot Asinof
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
\$9.95.

By Pat Aufderheide

This is a black comedy of TV production today, and it's all true. Eliot Asinof, novelist and sportswriter, makes his own story into an exemplary tale. The voice is that of a Raymond Chandler character, the last guy with principles in the fabulously wealthy and constantly hustling wonderland of TV production.

Asinof tells how it happened that he refused to accept \$25,000, antagonized TV producer David Susskind and got sued for \$1.75 million, all for not selling to Susskind a story he didn't have the right to sell.

Asinof had written a book called *Eight Men Out* about the 1919 Black Sox scandal—the fixing of the World Series. Asinof, an ex-pro ball player himself, was the only person ever to persuade any of the eight men involved to talk about their decision, and so became the only person to crack the mystery of

The man who told us the story behind the 1919 Black Sox scandal has a new scandal story—his own.

how and why the fix took place. He told the players' story—one that involved intimidation by mobsters and their hatred of the club owner Comiskey, who "made us feel like dogs."

Susskind wanted to make a TV movie about it, and Asinof was delighted—they had tried to do so 15 years before, but then the baseball commissioner had "killed" the story. But Asinof had optioned the rights to his book and that contract had 15 months to go. So Susskind commissioned a script from someone else who didn't know the story (and couldn't use Asinof's material without legal complications). Rather than have the

story be told wrong, distorting the players' role, Asinof tried to stop the production or make it more accurate.

And that's how he got sued for \$1.75 million.

Bleeding between the Lines is largely about the David-and-Goliath warfare between Asinof and Susskind's army of producers, writers and lawyers. He introduces us to a world of name-droppers, deal-collectors and agents in the process. To remind us that much of TV's double dealing is business-as-usual, Asinof recounts his days as a Hollywood writer, when he and fellow writers saw themselves as "craftsmen in a creampuff factory."

**Eliot
(BLEEDING
BETWEEN
THE LINES)
Asinof**

He tops his industry tales with horror stories about publicity. He recalls how, hyping *Eight Men Out*, he ended up on a radio talk show whose host didn't know his name. So Asinof introduced himself as Harold Robbins. After recanting, he summarized the plot of *Eight Men Out* as the plot of *The Group*. (Nobody ever called in to complain.)

The deeper Asinof gets into it with Susskind, the more he exasperates his friends. One says, "You always need a cause. It's like your books—they're about some poor schnook who battles

impossible forces and ends up getting the shit kicked out of him. They're marvelous, but what chance does he have?"

"He learns something," Asinof replies. "He comes out ahead in the long run."

He sure learns about the irrationality of commercial entertainment production. In the entire conflict people are rarely evil or even bad tempered. It's just that truth and history don't have much meaning compared with the process of making a show. Asinof spends much of the book filled with outrage but also baffled by the size of the translation problem between his anger—his principles—and their reactions.

This is a book worth hunting for. And you may have to—many bookstores that have the book have filed it away in the mystery section. The publishers produced a cover without a shred of evidence that this is a nonfiction book—especially an expose of TV. (Whether this has anything to do with Holt, Rinehart and Winston's relationship with its parent company CBS and their relationship with Susskind is material for dark, unprovable suspicions.)

Too bad—this is better than a mystery. It's a fast-paced insider's look at the politics of TV, and the good guy wins—or at least he learns something. ■

IN PASSING

In this new section *In These Times* takes note of periodicals, newsletters, special issues, pamphlets and other occasional material of interest to our readers.

In Mine and Mill: A Photographic Portfolio of Coal Miners and Textile Workers
By Earl Dotter, Pilgrim Press, \$15.

Twenty magnificent, large (17"x12"), beautifully-printed photos of coal and textile workers. In the introduction Walter Rosenblum urges "Live with them and cherish them"—excellent advice. pa

American Labor
American Labor Education Center, 1835 Kilbourne Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20010 (bulk rates available).

Local union officials, activists and labor educators should be sure to take this new 8-page newsletter prepared by a group of former union staff people (mainly with the early days of the reformed United Mine Workers). They pick out issues of interest to unions—such as occupational safety and health, plant closings or electric utility rates—and not only explain the issues but give succinct, solid advice on what unions can do. They emphasize what local unions and even individual union members can do, not simply reliance on the national officers and staff. Earl Dotter's fine photos are an added bonus. dm

Labor Notes (monthly)
Labor Education & Research Project, P.O. Box 20001, Detroit, MI 48220, \$5 a year.

In its first year of publication, *Labor Notes* has established itself as a useful, well-researched review of major labor developments, strikes and their settlements, and connections of labor with the general political world. The Project, organized



primarily by a group from the International Socialists, gives special attention to reform movements and often reports otherwise neglected signs of insurgency and change within unions. The I.S. perspective, with its hope for a revitalized radicalized union membership and its skepticism about many top union leaders, is present in a subdued form. The monthly 16-page reports are a good buy for anyone who is interested in what's happening with trade unions. dm

Dollars & Sense: Inflation (special issue)
Economic Affairs Bureau, Inc. 38 Union Square, Room 14 Somerville, MA 02143, \$1.

This short, simple leftist view of inflation emphasizes monopoly power, government intervention, decline of American world dominance and a series of recent "shocks," from Vietnam to OPEC, as the roots of the rapidly price level. Contrary to many on the left, they argue that workers have kept up fairly

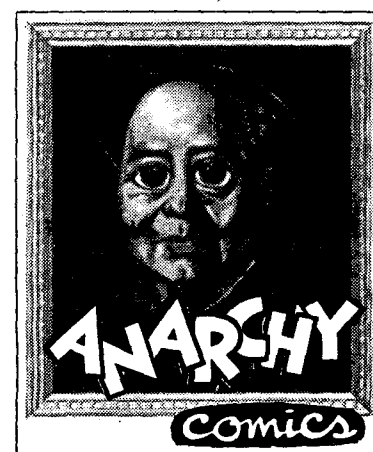
well and that the poor have not suffered disproportionately. Some of their own figures don't bear out the argument completely, however, and show slip-slide in real income and a reversal of the very slight trend toward more income equality in recent decades. The authors fear that raising inflation as an issue will probably just lead to worse alternatives being imposed. Some of their criticisms of the COIN (Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities) index of inflation in the necessities are good, but their blanket rejection of COIN's reforms isn't convincing. dm

Second Class, Working Class: An International Women's Reader
Peoples Translation Service, 4228 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609, \$3.

Short, informative articles of women's news from Europe, North Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, culled from material printed in the last few years, by eight women at Peoples Translation Service. The 64-page booklet groups articles under three headings: women in political parties and unions; strikes and resistance; and "the other side of unemployment"—prostitution, immigration and reproductive rights. pa

American Labor Films: double issue of *Film Library Quarterly*, American Labor Films, P.O. Box 348, Radio City Sta., NYC 10019, \$7.

Excellent resource book for labor films, edited by Tom (Film and Photo League) Brandon. Included are reports on AFL-CIO and UAW plans for a union consortium to produce labor films and on a two-year experiment in community and public TV use of labor films; a directory with distributors addresses of American labor films; 40 film reviews and five thoughtful essay reviews. A "survival list" of lost or neglected films of the '30s caps an already invaluable issue. pa



Anarchy Comix #2
By Jay Kinney and Paul Mavrides
Last Gasp, P.O. Box 212, Berkeley, CA 94701, \$1.50

Cartoonist-editors Kinney and Mavrides run popular and left cultural history back through the projector sideways, flashing pictures of Wobblies and feminists, Brecht and NCLC-like "Bizarros," Duruti, Emma Goldman

and the Yippies in a strange, new light. It's packed with outrageous attacks on freeze-dried radical ideology along with a few manifestations of punk self-indulgence. pb

Reel Change: A Guide to Social Issue Films
Patricia Peyton, editor
The Film Fund, (P.O. Box 909, San Francisco, CA 94101), \$6.95 plus \$1.25 postage.

A pioneering tool for activists who use film. This guide selects social issue films with a record of success in use, and indexes them by subject (cross-referencing them by title). Ancillary categories include films for children and international film classics. A list of distributors, resource guides and periodicals, and a short essay of "hints for film screenings" complete the book. pa

Contributors: David Moberg, Pat Aufderheide, Paul Buhle.

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Union WAGE

FOLK MUSIC

Home—these songs are your songs

By Emily Friedman

The American labor movement has traditionally been a singing movement, from soldiers' laments about working conditions during the Revolutionary War to musical complaints of the craftsmen who were steamrolled by the Industrial Revolution to songs of the eight-hour day demonstrations.

Although many of the songs have been taken from poetry, religious music, or earlier ballads, we have also been blessed by a rich heritage of songwriting organizers—Joe Hill, the emigrant songsmith from Scandinavia who gave the Industrial Workers of the World many of their best songs before he was executed by the government of Utah; Woody Guthrie, who wrote thousands of songs that helped to organize thousands of Depression-era working people; Earl Robinson, whose work encompasses several idioms.

To this highly distinguished company we can now add another name, that of Si Kahn—union organizer, writer, singer and poet. Currently based in North Carolina, where he is helping to organize textile workers and to break the J.P. Stevens Company's anti-union stance, Kahn has been an activist in the South since 1965. He has been involved in open housing, desegregation, antipoverty organizing, farming co-ops, and many other campaigns. Through it all, he has been writing and performing songs that have—all too slowly—found their way into the repertoires of many contemporary folksingers.

One reason for his commercial obscurity is that Kahn pre-



Si Kahn, long-time labor activist in the South, has always used music in his work.

fers to use his music in his work—performing at rallies, bringing songs into workshop situations, raising spirits on picket lines. Also, music is still an avocation with him, and it has not been easy to romp off on four-month-long concert tours. With the exception of a rare foray to a folk festival or a stray concert appearance, he has become known mostly through two albums released on June Appal Records (*New Wood* and *Brown Lung Cotton Mill Blues*, both available from June Appal Records, Box 743, Whitesburg, KY 41858). June Appal, unfortunately, despite its deserved reputation as one of the best alter-

native-music labels, is not as widely distributed as it should be. But more and more people started recording Kahn's work—Ed Trickett, the Red Clay Ramblers, Cathy Fink & Duck Donald, and many others. Eventually, many of us Northerners even heard of him—long after he was well known in the Southeast, of course. He was warmly greeted at the 1979 University of Chicago Folk Festival, at the 1979 Vancouver Folk Festival, and at an October 1979 concert for the Aural Tradition folk song society and the Midwest Academy in Chicago.

The timing, then, was just right for his latest and best al-

bum, *Home* (Flying Fish 207). Accompanied by outstanding musicians such as John McCutcheon, Rich Kirby, Howard Levy, Claudia Schmidt, and others, Si Kahn has made a musically excellent and socially profound record.

Arranged with a healthy dose of old-timey mountain sound, *Home* is a basketful of great songs. Some concern the migrants of today, torn between their love of the South and the better wages of the North, who live "...on the highway headed north/Back and forth/Sometimes I feel like a rolling stone..." (*Spinning Mills of Home*). Another song tells of

the courage that makes this forced traveling bearable (*When the Morning Breaks*).

Kahn is deeply affected by the personal tragedies brought about by bad wages, lousy working conditions, and broken families, and many of the people who populate his songs illuminate this highly personal point of view. A husband, working far from home, tries to live with the fact that his wife sees another man while he's gone; an unemployed worker sinks into hopelessness at Christmastime.

But if Kahn has one overriding belief, it is his faith in the people he knows and has worked with for so long, and there are many songs of faith on this record. You can't scream for answers if you don't know the questions, he sings, and points out that "...there's no time like now to start asking/And there's no place like home to begin." (*Xmas*). *Union in My Soul* gives powerful evidence as to why companies like Stevens will eventually lose, and *People Like You* is a hymn to all folks, everywhere, who keep the struggle going: "Old battler, with a scar for every town/Thought you were no better than the rest/You wore your colors every way but down/All you ever gave us was your best/But you know that/People like you help people like me go on..."

Kahn's heroes are the real people, but I'll tell you something—people like Si Kahn help people like me go on, too. This year will see a second album on Flying Fish and a songbook as well, and I can hardly wait. ■

Emily Friedman is the editor of *Come for to Sing* magazine in Chicago.

CLASSIFIED

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FEBRUARY, JEWISH CURRENTS. Editorial: "Affirmative Action Again." "No Room for Race Prejudice," edited by Phillip S. Foner. "Readers' Forum on Jews in International Brigades," by Alvah Besie, Albert Prago and Morris U.

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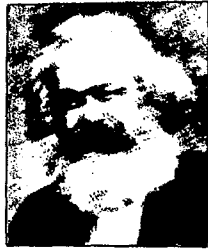
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From

MARX



To

MOON



In the early '70s Barbara Underwood, a young feminist in Santa Cruz, became a convert to the Unification Church. Four years later her parents put her and the Unification Church on trial.

By

Bruce Dancis

"Today I was given the privilege of washing by hand Father's shirts, using His special detergent."

The "Father" is the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The fawning servant who recorded this entry in her journal January 23, 1974, was Barbara Underwood, now the co-author, with her mother Betty, of *Hostage To Heaven: Four years in the Unification Church by an Ex Moonie and the mother who fought to free her* (Potter, \$10.95).

The Underwoods' story is told in alternating chapters, reflecting the often divergent viewpoints of Barbara (often taken from her journal) and Betty. Their book gives a unique look inside the Unification Church—its leaders, theology and practices—as well as the issues and events surrounding Barbara's parents' attempt to win a court-ordered conservatorship that led to their daughter's leaving the Church.

Hostage to Heaven has special meaning to me. Barbara Underwood was a friend of mine in the early '70s, a fellow student radical in Santa Cruz, Calif. One of the reasons she joined the Unification Church was because of her disillusionment with the left and feminist community in Santa Cruz. Later I ran into her, a glassy-eyed cultist, on a Berkeley street corner soliciting money for a Moonie front group, the Creative Community Project.

Betty Underwood seemed to be still trying to make sense of her daughter's experience, and she asked questions of Barb with me. We were joined by Gary Scharff, Barb's husband, also an ex-Moonie.

Why did you join the Unification Church?

Having been involved in the radical community in Santa Cruz, living in a small, collective house of people who were committed to high ideals and making significant changes in society, I was very discouraged. I felt very dissatisfied with the ability of the people in the collective to overcome separatist, individualized inclinations and unite to do something as a whole group.

When my freshman year roommate went up to Berkeley and discovered what she felt was a genuine utopian, revolutionary community, she invited me to come up and look at it. I was very interested, partly because I was almost desperately searching for community. It also intrigued me that they were people who were living out their ideals and believed that they could transform society through transforming themselves.

I went up to a weekend workshop in northern California. I was very moved by the 40 people I met up there. They were very much like me and there was a real kinship. They came from radical backgrounds themselves, many from Ann Arbor who had originally been involved in SDS. There was a whole inner cadre of political people, who had come to see some shortcomings in the political struggle and were searching on a spiritual level. I had some background in that myself, having spent a lot of time talking about the possibility of uniting a spiritual vision with a Marxian vision. I was moved by their sense of purpose, their inner confidence, a sense of roots and continuity, and the fact that they were powerful people. They had a direction to their lives and they knew who they were.

But on the other hand, they were so likeminded. There was no place for criticism, discussion and questions. Also, I had no more than five minutes to myself that whole weekend. Somebody was on my arms every instant and they made me feel very guilty if I wanted to act individually.

To what extent do you see your striving for a community as an example of the failure of the radical movement at Santa Cruz?

At the time I couldn't separate a realization of the private vs. the public from my own need to feel something very complete surrounding me in my life. No matter how much I knew that the world was a diverse place, that there were contradictions, I wasn't comfortable living with the contradictions of multiple viewpoints that I saw

around me. Unification offered a resting place emotionally and intellectually. *The early '70s were very difficult times for a lot of people on the left.*

Unification capitalized on the demoralization that was going on in the world, the sense that there were no solutions out there that had been considered yet except for their new solution.

They alienate you from your whole past experience.

Betty: Wasn't there also a question of personal morality, in the old fashioned sense, that was appealing to you?

Yeah. I was feeling ripped apart, confused, by the question of lesbianism and bisexuality. I was going through a lot of sexual identity questions—what is natural, what is right, what is liberal, what is free? I was looking for a system of ideas that told me what was natural. I happened to come upon one that said, "This is natural because this is God's plan."

Your book reminded me how much purism there was on the left and the feminist movement in the early '70s.

The set of ideas I heard in the first lecture program in the Moonies was about the individual's unique contribution to the whole. It was like a pantomime of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." It was humanistic.

When did you make the switch from a communitarian to a cultist?

I was told that the teacher behind all this was Sun Myung Moon about three or four weeks after I moved into the group. I was not told any of this in the first two workshops I went to.

I think the thing that really grabbed me was the sexual and existential guilt. The group was saying "If you stay with us you will realize your ultimate potential, you will transform the world. How can you leave us without having done that? You're not going to do it out there." And here you are amid a group of amazing people, very energized, very unified, very sincere, and you think "My God, it's possible that this is something new in this time in history."

I began to evaluate my past life in negative terms, and also started questioning my identity, my perceptions, and my ability to make up my own mind.

How long a period did this process take?

Only weeks. It was probably about a month or two after I joined that I was standing on a street corner with a woman I trusted very much and she told me that this group justified the war in Vietnam. I was just shocked. I couldn't believe it. I was very upset and couldn't sell flowers for that night or the next day. I thought "Who am I to question the authority of God?" *I don't understand that leap. How did you explain it to yourself?*

I had just been introduced to a full spiritual world and I figured that I had a narrow perspective and that God had a larger perspective.

Gary: It's not a leap, it's a slide.

Barb, you wrote about wanting to bring some books up to the weekend retreat. Someone said that the only book you'd need was DIVINE PRINCIPLE. Didn't that set off alarms?

You slowly undermine your own trust in your own ability to evaluate. Your own intuitions become suspect in the face of an incredible, affectionate, overpowering, encircling group around you. My past intellectual life became not just head games, but leading to cul de sacs instead of emotional fulfillment. The trump card is God, and it's also happiness. And they promise you happiness if you just continue on with the formulas they offer you. I felt happy, partly because you have to act happy, and slowly it trickles in as you get reinforced.

How important is the absence of time to yourself in the slide?

It's crucial, along with not having contact with people who could corroborate your past experience and criticize your current one. I felt raped by the lack of time for myself. But because the group calls for a total willingness to

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